



THE DIOCESE OF BROOKLYN



LIBRARY OF PRINCETON
MAY 10 1994
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

BX
1417
B6
552
1954
V.1

NEW YORK

CONN
Bridgeport
New Haven

LONG

HUDSON RIVER
NEW JERSEY

NEW JERSEY

Jersey City

Staten Is.

Coney Island

BRONX

KINGS

BROOKLYN

Bayville

Locust Valley

Port Washington

Great Neck

Manhasset

Mineola

Flushing

Forest Hills

Jamaica

Valley Stream

Lynbrook

Cedarhurst

Rockaway Park

Long Beach

Jones Beach

Fire Island

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville

Farmingdale

Amityville

Wantagh

Freeport

Baldwin

Jericho

Melville

Deer Park

Brentwood

Islip

Bay Shore

Babylon

Lindenhurst

Salton

Great South Bay

Oyster Bay

Syosset

Glen Cove

Roslyn

Hicksville



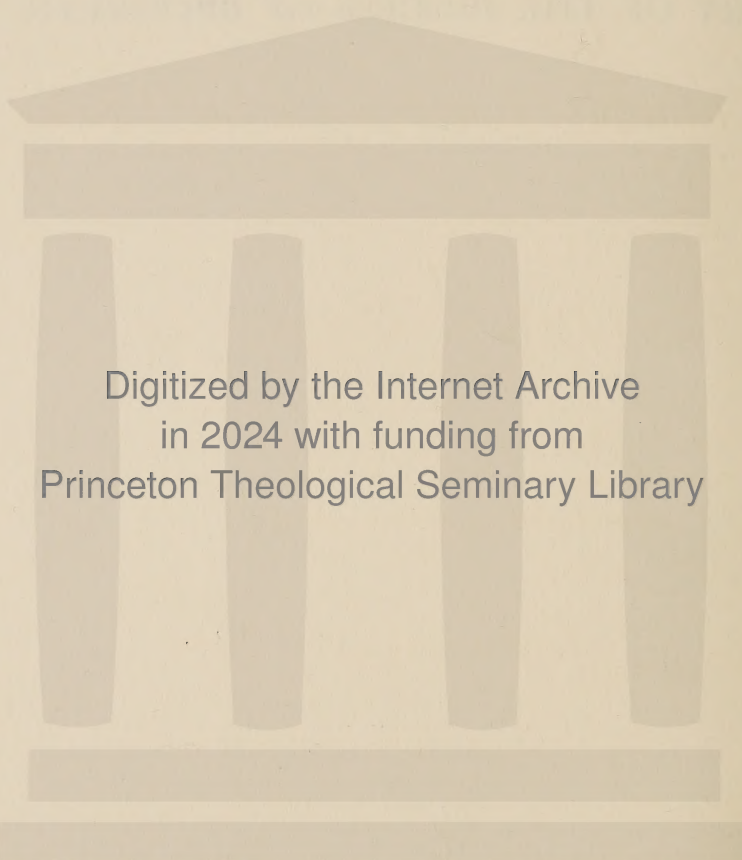
SAINT JAMES PRO-CATHEDRAL

L. A. Loetscher

(Compliments of Father Francis X. Gilm
Immaculate Conception Seminary
Huntington N.Y.)

March, 1963.

HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE OF BROOKLYN



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

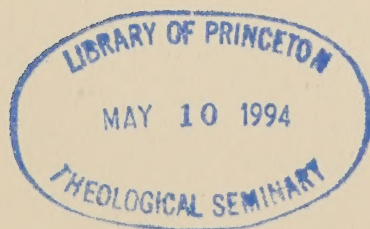
HISTORY OF THE DIOCESE
OF BROOKLYN
1853-1953

The Catholic Church on Long Island

by
JOHN K. SHARP

WITH A FOREWORD BY HIS EXCELLENCY,
THE MOST REVEREND THOMAS E. MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
ARCHBISHOP-BISHOP OF BROOKLYN

VOLUME I



NEW YORK
FORDHAM UNIVERSITY PRESS
1954

Nihil Obstat:

FRANCISCUS X. GLIMM

Censor Deputatus

Imprimatur:

✠ THOMAS EDMUNDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.

Archiepiscopus-Episcopus Brooklynensis

BROOKLYNII

DIE VIII JUNII, 1954

The *Nihil Obstat* and *Imprimatur* are official declarations that a book or pamphlet is free of doctrinal or moral error. No implication is contained therein that those who have granted the *Nihil Obstat* and *Imprimatur* agree with the contents, opinions or statements expressed.

COPYRIGHT, FORDHAM UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1954

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEDICATED
TO
"THIS EARNEST CATHOLIC DIOCESE
OF BROOKLYN
ALL ON FIRE"

(Quotation from the New York *Freeman's Journal*,
February 18, 1871)

The diocese of Brooklyn stands apart from all the rest, independent in its island home, not cramped, fettered or confined like the rest of the bishoprics. It looks serenely over the waters to the great see of New York, sees in the dim distance the shore of Hartford and Providence, discerns the low lying shores of Newark diocese, the heathen goddess guiding the eye. In early days the Catholic Plowden hoped to make it a great colony drawing wealth from land and sea, but he never dreamed of it being a Catholic diocese with stately church and shrine, with convent towers from which the Angelus sounded, with homes for learning and misery, with faithful children of the Church crowding the naves and clustering around the altars of a host of churches.

In the olden days the Algonquin tribes who roamed over it called it Maniti, or the island, Spanish navigators gave it the appellation of the Island of the Holy Apostles, the prosaic Dutch and English could find no better term than the very prosaic style of Long Island. It had long been a dependence of New York, after throwing off the yoke of the scheming Connecticut people imposed on one end. The Pope was the first to recognize that it ought to be as nature formed it, independent, and he created it into a distinct diocese, one of the island sees of which America boasts more than all the rest of the world.—JOHN GILMARY SHEA, in the Catholic News, October 19, 1890.

FOREWORD

IT IS UNDOUBTEDLY incumbent upon me, at the beginning of my introductory observations, to express my sincere appreciation of the very capable and conscientious service rendered by Monsignor John K. Sharp in compiling and presenting the following historical data about the Diocese of Brooklyn during the past one hundred years.

I admire indeed the author's scholarly and scientific research which impressively suggests how patiently and painstakingly he examined original source materials, critically studied and appraised the same, and carefully compared and contrasted some in relation to others, in order to determine what did or did not happen and where, how, and why it happened. Monsignor Sharp's very obvious and laudable purpose undoubtedly was to insure a distillation of truth from the numerous sources of information which he so sedulously utilized.

We all recognize, of course, that such exacting and meticulous work of a scientific researcher is vitally important and basically indispensable if the author may also reasonably hope to develop from such sources sound, true, and accurate historical elaborations, syntheses, and philosophy. A careful reading of these volumes will reveal that the author has not restricted his ambition to being only a diligent and reliable fact-finder. Very evidently he has also sought to view and interpret the factual data in the light of certain principles and truths which aid us, not only to understand the present, but also to prepare and equip ourselves for the future.

In making this observation, I am reminded of the viewpoint of Mr. G. K. Chesterton presented in these words: "Among the many things that leave me doubtful about the modern habit of fixing

eyes on the future, none is stronger than this that all men in history, who have done anything with the future, have had their eyes on the past. I need not mention the Renaissance, the very word proves my case. The originality of Michelangelo and Shakespeare began with the digging of old vases and manuscripts. So the great medieval revival was a memory of the Roman Empire. So the Reformation looked back to the Bible and Biblical times. So the modern Catholic movement reverts to patristic times" (*What's Wrong with the World*).

We undoubtedly share in Mr. Chesterton's appreciation of the value and utility of historical knowledge. Then again we are mindful of the fact that, in the interpretation and evaluation of historical data, as Christians we are guided by Revelation as well as by reason particularly in regard to matters concerning God and creation and regarding man's true nature and his ultimate destiny. Otherwise we would interpret and appraise history through nature and reason alone and then develop, as Hegel and Marx have done, a completely materialistic conception of history.

We are disposed to agree, moreover, with George Santayana, when he states: "To divorce, as the modernists do, religion from the story of salvation and God's government and to separate the sanction of religion from the operation of matter is a fundamental apostasy from Christianity" (*Winds of Doctrine*, p. 34).

We may recall that Pope Leo XIII in his Brief on historical studies, declared: "All history, in one way or another, proclaims there is a God ruling, by His divine Providence, the various and perpetual movements of human affairs" (*Saepe numero considerantes*).

It is true of course to say that, especially since St. Augustine, the Christian philosophy of history has been disposed to assume the interposition of Providence in the process of history, without forgetting the importance of the Natural Law, placed by God in men and things. This Christian philosophical assumption is supported by reason, aided by testimony which asserts that Providence is an evident fact.

We may interpret Providence as an extension of God's wisdom and we know from the Old Testament that Divine Wisdom, "reacheth . . . from end to end mightily, and ordereth all things

sweetly" (Wis., 8:1). We may also regard Providence as a manifestation of God's Goodness, Mercy, and Justice. And in this sense particularly God's Providence is revealed in the parables of the birds of the air; of the prodigal son; the lost sheep; and the good shepherd. Then again we reverently recognize the most precious, sublime, and salutary manifestation of God's Providence concerning the souls of men as evidenced in the Incarnation, the Redemption, and the Church.

At the moment we are especially interested in the Church which God established and enriched with Revealed truth and supernatural grace for man's sanctification and salvation. Christ, moreover, promised to be with His Church to protect and preserve it in the fulfillment of its God-given mission. As a sacred and significant evidence of this divine protection, the Christian Church has remained, through the centuries, not only numerically but organically one, that is, in truth, sacraments, sacrifice, government, and historical identity. This Church is organically one, not in fact only, but through an abiding divine Person by Whom that unity is permanently preserved. We recall the divine promise: "Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world" (Matt., 28:20).

Identity, moreover, for much more than a thousand years, over such a vast area of the world and in such a sizable multitude of members, with such mysterious doctrines and under such changing circumstances, is convincing proof of a special divine protection and if God be its Author and Preserver, the Church itself is divine.

We understand, therefore, that Christ, Who is God, is both Founder and Preserver of the Church. At the same time we recognize that there are those who now, as well as in the past, regard Christ merely as the only perfect man in the history of the world and also consider Him as a superb teacher Who spoke wisely and convincingly about the existence and attributes of God and man's relationship to Him. Four centuries before Christ, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle had discoursed on similar subjects and sought to gain adherents to their views and convictions. Christ's objective, however, was not to found a school but rather a kingdom. We may recall that God had His kingdom on earth in the days of the Jew-

ish theocracy which, however, was only national, and which, even before Christ came, had passed away.

Christ restored the Kingdom of God but in a perfect and more enduring form. Thou "shalt bring forth a son," the angel had announced to Mary, His mother, "and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of David his father; and he shall reign in the house of Jacob for ever. And of his kingdom there shall be no end" (Luke, 1:31-33). St. Mark tells us, "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying: The time is accomplished and the kingdom of God is at hand" (Mark, 1:14-15). Our Lord, moreover, declared specifically the nature of the kingdom by using the title "Kingdom of God" and "Kingdom of Heaven."

Very evidently He resolved to establish a kingdom which was not an earthly kingdom or a temporal state; not one which should issue coinage, wage war, defend itself with weapons, seek foreign trade, provide defense against invasion, insist upon territorial possessions, and promote exclusively the temporal interests of its subjects. Though not of the world, Christ's Kingdom is to be in the world; men and women are to be citizens of it, while here on earth; it is to exist alongside of temporal governments; and is to be composed of the same members who constitute earthly governments. It is not, however, a state within a state.

This Kingdom, moreover, is visible but it is also invisible since Christ governs through conscience and reaches men's souls, their minds, their hearts, and their wills so as to inspire the highest and holiest moral and religious life and conduct as reflected in the Sermon on the Mount. It is, however, always a visible Kingdom because one enters it through an external, visible baptismal rite. Oral profession must be made of the same religious creed. Its members assist at celebration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. They are placed under the guidance and government of a body of visible rulers and teachers especially prepared by Christ, to whom He says: "He that receiveth you receiveth me."

Do we not have here a Kingdom which, while spiritual in object, means, and motives, is also visible as an outward visible society?

It is, moreover, universal. Unlike the Jewish theocracy, and

unlike every other kingdom established before or since, it was not to be restricted to any place or people. Men everywhere were invited to become citizens. Did not our Lord say to the apostles: "You shall receive the power of the Holy Ghost coming upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and all Judea, and Samaria, and even to the uttermost part of the earth" (Acts, 1:8)?

This Kingdom is to be independent. It is not to be an earthly kingdom and still less a department or function of any civil state. Its founder is God Himself, Who defined the objectives of His Church; the bonds uniting all its members; the officers who should rule over it; the limits of their authority and the principles of their government. If the Kingdom is a spiritual one, if it comes into being for the sanctifying and saving of men's souls, if the faith it teaches and the means it employs are superhuman and supernatural, then we should not expect it to be left dependent for its action and very existence on any earthly power. If the Kingdom is to be a world-wide society, with a common faith, common religious rites, and a common government, it can neither be identified with nor subject to any local state.

These essential characteristics are proper to the Church of Christ and differentiate the Church from civil society.

At the same time we recognize that participation in the common good of the State forms an integral element in the human person. As the civil community, therefore, the State is invested with moral dignity. And since its functions are fundamental for performance of all man's tasks in the material, cultural, and social spheres, its value is most comprehensive. St. Thomas, therefore, describes the State, with Aristotle, as a most excellent creation of human reason and accordingly gives to politics a very high place among the arts.

There are, therefore, two societies perfect in their nature and scope, namely, the Church and the State. The end of the State is the temporal welfare of the community. The objective of the Church is the sanctification and salvation of souls.

For the welfare of individuals the Church and State may realize a cooperative relationship, such as is evidenced in our country even though the Church and State are separated, and the Church promotes chiefly the spiritual, supernatural interests of its mem-

bers and the State is concerned with the social, economic, and cultural welfare of its citizens.

This fact has been a source of unusual interest, not only to Americans, but also to foreigners. We may recall that Charles Alexis de Tocqueville, in his classical work entitled *Democracy in America*, has made reference to this association of Church and State in our country. Lord Bryce, who also presented his views on the institutions of the United States, in his book entitled *American Commonwealth*, has made the comment that de Tocqueville's expressions of judgment regarding "the character and influence of Christianity in the United States" are among the wisest and most permanently true that he has written (*The Predictions of Hamilton and de Tocqueville*, 1857). De Tocqueville himself admitted with some surprise that he found ample justification for the statement that the Catholic clergy in the United States give real life to the precept, "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's." And he made the additional declaration, that "the Catholic people of the United States are, at the same time, most faithful believers and most zealous citizens" (*Democracy in America*, II, 304).

De Tocqueville traveled in the United States in 1831 and 1832. French writers subsequently referred frequently to the relationship of Church and State in the United States but, perhaps, chiefly in consideration of their own national situation. In 1856 the De Courcy-Shea History of the American Church was published, translated and enlarged by John Gilmary Shea. This historical publication was a comprehensive, factual record and very limited in interpretation and appraisal of ecclesiastical persons and happenings.

Church historians at that particular time and since have generally listed five causal factors for the very substantial increase in the membership of the Catholic Church in the United States, namely: (1) the immigration of millions of European Catholics; (2) the comparatively high birth rate among these immigrant families; (3) the annexation of traditionally Catholic areas such as Florida, Texas, California, and New Mexico; (4) the liberty enjoyed by the Church under the laws of the United States; and (5)

the Church's own adaptation of her institutions to the American environment.

Monsignor Sharp very interestingly brings to our attention that these factors were notably evident in the development and expansion of the Church in the Diocese of Brooklyn, as well as in other sections of our country.

In more particular reference to our own diocese, the author indicates the sizable problems which Bishop Loughlin, of revered memory, was called upon to solve in dealing with the substantial increase in the membership of the Church and the inadequacy of available priests as well as the very limited material means to satisfy church, school, and institutional construction requirements.

With a truly courageous heart and a zealous apostolic spirit Bishop Loughlin gave himself unstintingly and unselfishly to the right solution of these problems and succeeded with the help of God and the loyal, capable, and conscientious cooperation of his priests and religious, and through the generosity of his people, in laying the strong and enduring foundation of the Church and, at the same time, provided pleasing promise of its future blessedly fruitful and salutary functioning. Through the faithful ministrations, moreover, of its holy and zealous Bishop as well as of his clergy the members of the Church manifested, with steadily increasing edification, the sanctifying power of the Holy Ghost in their religious aspirations and activities.

Bishop Loughlin was succeeded by the pious, learned, and humble Bishop McDonnell, who not only protected and preserved wisely and prudently the solid ecclesiastical foundation of the Church, laid by his illustrious predecessor, but also strengthened, sustained, and expanded the same to a notable degree, in multiplying parish churches and mission chapels and in increasing the number of schools and institutions of relief and mercy, which were strategically located to serve the steadily and sizably increasing Catholic population. At the same time Bishop McDonnell strove earnestly and perseveringly to generate and intensify among priests, religious, and people an eagerness for growth in holiness and personal sanctity. He encouraged and sponsored spiritual societies to give more adequate praise and thanksgiving to God.

We are of course readily disposed to acknowledge that in the

enjoyment of the precious spiritual blessings of the past we have also been favored with the opportunity of cooperating with the State, even though Church and State are separated in the realization of the temporal happiness of individuals.

In this particular relationship we understand, as Jacques Maritain points out, that there are certain indispensable requirements, such as "the freedom of the Church and the superiority of the spiritual. Separation between Church and State is not the anti-religious attitude or complete isolation of the Nineteenth Century in Europe but is compatible with mutual good will and cooperation. This cooperation is demanded by the very unity of the human person, at once a member of both societies, and through him the Church enters the sphere of the temporal good. On the part of the State the most general form is the promotion of material prosperity; its support of human dignity and its effective guarantee of the juridical order."

On the other hand, we recognize of course the function of the Church in teaching the faithful the relationship of the current events of this world to the unchanging values of Christian truth and to the Catholic philosophy of life so soundly developed on the basis of Revealed truth. The Church, moreover, also seeks to stimulate and encourage a constant application of these truths and values by the individual to his milieu in order to establish a Christian social order.

We must not lose sight of the fact that the Church is an essential part of the dispensation of Divine Providence which made man a social being. It is true of course that all the concern of the Church for the earthly happiness of mankind is regulated and conditioned by the connection between such happiness and the eternal bliss of heaven.

The late Emmanuel Cardinal Suhard, of Paris, reminded us of this fact when he declared: "If the destiny of man is spiritual, and even supernatural, it still has those conditions which touch upon matter. For this reason the Church cannot be disinterested in the temporal order nor even in its economic foundations. The Christian, therefore, has the duty to create conditions in the world favorable to the Christian religion."

Pope Pius XII, in his 1951 Christmas message, declared: "The

Church is concerned with the establishment of a perfect Christian order, the perfect ordering of human life (familial, economic, social and political) which is the foundation and guarantee of peace."

It may be well to point out that in its promotion of the temporal well-being of the individual the Church does not wish to interfere with the natural and legitimate political and social life of a nation. For as Pope Pius XII, in his encyclical *Summi Pontificatus*, declares: "The Church is not seeking uniformity which would cramp the natural tendencies of the several nations. Each nation has its own genius, its own qualities, springing from the hidden roots of its own being. The wise development, the helpful encouragement, within limits, of this genius, those qualities, does no harm; and if a nation desires to take precautions, to lay down rules, for that end, it has the Church's approval. The Church is mother enough to befriend such projects with her prayers, so long as all is done without prejudice to those duties which the common origin and the common destiny of the whole human race impose upon us."

Finally, as we cast a retrospective glance over the past years of the Church in the Diocese of Brooklyn, we are grateful to God for the impressive multiplication of the salutary agencies of religion, education, and charity in our midst. These achievements represent eloquently and concretely the zeal of the clergy and the faith, piety, and generosity of our loyal people.

I might observe, however, that there is even a deeper and more justifiable reason for our spiritual joy at the moment, which is to be assigned to the record that has been written in the souls of the priests, religious, people, and children during the past century.

We are properly and always concerned about the history of the invisible Church to which we have already made reference. For it is this history that is written symbolically in the Apocalypse and only on the Last Day will it be read with clarity and perception.

We are thinking, of course, about the supernatural life of the soul, which has its origin in Baptism and Confirmation, the sacramental sources of the supernatural life in each and every one of us. This life has the characteristic of life everywhere, namely, organic growth and development which are achieved by means of

the Eucharist, by prayer, by imitation of Christ, and, more particularly, by charity, since a Christian becomes perfect through perfect love of God.

We are aware, moreover, that in the faithful and worthy use of these supernatural agencies we are in close contact with the indwelling and miraculous power of the Holy Ghost. And we are assured of the divine efficacy and extent of His action both in the whole body of the Church and in the individual soul through the glorious benefits of His divine gifts, fruits, and graces.

No wonder then that Pope Leo XIII, in his encyclical *Divinum illud munus*, in which he discourses on the Holy Ghost, presents a stirring call to every member of the Church to achieve personal sanctity and to engage in apostolic service. The Pontiff declares: "As Christ is the head of the Church so is the Holy Ghost her soul."

Now as we address ourselves to the serious and sacred duties and responsibilities which await us in the new century of the Church in our diocese, we may well take courage, confidence, and hope from the noble, edifying, and spiritually fruitful lives and labors of the revered Bishops, priests, and people who have preceded us.

In order to insure, however, our walking worthily in their footsteps, we shall most wisely and prudently, now as in the future, have recourse fervently and frequently to the Font of Life—the Comforter—the Fire of Love. And we shall ask His supernatural enlightenment, guidance, and aid in the prayerful words we know so well:

"Come, Holy Ghost, Creator Blest,
And in our souls take up Thy rest,
Come with Thy grace and heavenly aid,
And fill the hearts which Thou has made."

✠ THOMAS E. MOLLOY

Bishop of Brooklyn

PREFACE

THE PREPARATION of this history of the Diocese of Brooklyn was begun in September, 1937, at the request of His Excellency, the Most Reverend Thomas E. Molloy, S.T.D., Archbishop-Bishop of Brooklyn. Thereafter the assignment was prosecuted assiduously despite the duties of a busy parochial ministry. His Excellency's continued interest in and support of the project have now succeeded in bringing the work to publication.

The pertinent and available archival sources in the United States and abroad were examined either in person or by means of correspondence. In addition, as many as possible of the useful printed records were consulted. The reader will find the more important of these primary and secondary sources listed either in the Notes or in the Bibliography of this work. Useful information was also received from the responses to questionnaires that were sent to all pastors, to the superiors of religious communities, and to all diocesan agencies and commissions within the diocese. By March, 1947, most of the data had been assembled and coordinated and a rough draft of this narrative had been prepared.

In the meantime, the author published in July, 1944, a by-product of this work entitled *Priests and Parishes of the Diocese of Brooklyn, 1820-1944*. It contains in some detail a biography of 3,310 priests who are known to have labored on Long Island for a period of three months or more, as well as an historical summary of all the parishes and missions, churches, and schools of the diocese. Its publication has obviated the necessity of including such data in the present work.

The present account of the history of the diocese lay fallow until February, 1953, when its publication was judged expedient in

view of the centennial of the foundation of the Diocese of Brooklyn. The time since then has been spent preparing the work for and seeing it through the press. I am conscious of many imperfections in this narrative, and the student trained in historical research and the professional historiographer will find many more. It may be useful, as well, to comment here upon several other features of this history.

Extensive and intensive search was made for traces of Catholicism in the pre-diocesan era, with results quite incommensurate with the effort expended. Similarly, considerable time was spent on the administration of Bishop Loughlin concerning whom, unfortunately, few primary sources remain in Brooklyn. In comparison, the time and space given to the administration of Bishop McDonnell were briefer and the treatment was less detailed. For reasons which are obvious to those aware of the private nature of many of the documentary remains of recent bishops their personal papers are not generally available to historians. The treatment of the administration of Archbishop Molloy may be described as more of a chronicle rather than an historical narrative. However, the passage of time with its lengthened perspective will permit a future historian to present a more adequate and fully documented appraisal of the administrations of both Bishop McDonnell and Archbishop Molloy.

The reader will note the perhaps excessive use of documentation in the pre-Loughlin and Loughlin periods. Some of it, doubtless, might have been omitted, but I felt that since the data had been gathered it might serve the convenience of some readers if such information were recorded here. It may also be useful to observe that quotations have been cited exactly but the word *sic* has not been employed to note the variants from presently accepted usage. It may be well to note, also, that a full explanation of the abbreviations in the Notes, of the more frequently cited sources, will be found in the key at the beginning of the Notes.

A number of persons have helped in the preparation of this history and I am deeply grateful to them all. I received many useful suggestions in the initial stages of this work from the late Monsignor Peter Guilday, professor of Church history at the Catholic University of America. The late Thomas F. Meehan, K.S.G.,

for many years editor of the publications of the United States Catholic Historical Society, placed his considerable knowledge at my disposal and presented me with many of his early newspaper articles and other rare items. Sister M. Natalena, C.S.J., presently of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico in Ponce, mounted and prepared these items for me. Miss Margaret C. Vallette, daughter of the late Marc F. Vallette who was a founder of both the United States Catholic Historical Society and the Long Island Catholic Historical Society, gave me all the historical papers and publications of her father. The Meehan and the Vallette data have since been deposited in the diocesan archives. Miss Miriam Teresa Rooney, Ph.D., dean of the School of Law, Seton Hall University, Newark, New Jersey, gave me valuable information on the early life of her kinsman, Bishop Loughlin.

Father George M. Driscoll of the diocese assisted me materially in discovering some of the Catholic elements in the pre-diocesan history of eastern Long Island, and Mr. Morton Pennypacker of East Hampton, Long Island, placed his valuable collection at my disposal. Miss Edna Huntington of the Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, made the files of the *Long Island Star* and many other volumes available to me. The late Father William C. Hector, C.M., of St. John's University, Brooklyn, gave me important data. Mother Anselma, O.P., prioress of the Sisters of St. Dominic of Brooklyn, assisted me with translations from German and Spanish documents, and Father Eugene F. Crawford, assistant visitor general for the religious of the diocese, furnished me with useful data.

I am indebted also for helpful suggestions made to me in the preparatory stage of this work by Father Jules A. Baisnée, S.S., S.T.D., Ph.D., of the Theological College of the Catholic University, Washington, D.C., by the past presidents of the United States Catholic Historical Society, Leo R. Ryan, Ph.D., principal of Flushing High School, New York City, and John J. Meng, Ph.D., dean of administration, Hunter College, New York City, as well as by Father John Tracy Ellis, Ph.D., professor of American Church history, Catholic University of America. Many other scholars, archivists, and librarians graciously helped me by making available the archival deposits and collections of their institutions.

Among them special thanks are due to the late Most Reverend Michael J. Curley, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore; to Monsignor Arthur J. Scanlan, S.T.D., former rector of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York, and presently pastor of St. Helena's Parish, New York City; to Monsignor Thomas J. McMahon, S.T.D., formerly of St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, former president of the United States Catholic Historical Society and presently president of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine; to Father Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., Ph.D., of the University of Notre Dame, Indiana; to Father Hugh J. Phillips, of Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland; to Father Frederick J. Zwierlein, D.Sc.M.H., formerly of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, New York; to Father Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., of Georgetown University, Washington, D.C.; to Father Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A., of Villanova College, Pennsylvania; and to Father Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., of the Paulist Fathers of New York.

I record my gratitude, also, for assistance in preparing the manuscript for the press, to Father Francis X. Glimm, S.T.L., of the Seminary of the Immaculate Conception, Huntington, Long Island; and to Father Vincent C. Hopkins, S.J., and Miss Catherine M. Neale, of the Fordham University Press.

I am grateful to the Tablet Publishing Company of Brooklyn for the use of certain photographs and to Columbia University Press for the reproduction of the Map of Brooklyn Village, 1828, from Ralph Foster Weld's *Brooklyn Village*.

JOHN K. SHARP
St. Mary's Parish
Manhasset, Long Island

*Feast of the Seven Dolors
of the Blessed Virgin Mary
April 9, 1954*

CONTENTS

VOLUME I

	<i>Page</i>
Foreword	vii
Preface	xvii
I. The Beginnings of Catholicism on Long Island	1
II. The Diocese of New York, 1808-1825	21
III. Catholicism Is Organized on Long Island	38
IV. Growth and Conflict	55
V. Brooklyn under Bishop Dubois	68
VI. Brooklyn under Archbishop Hughes	88
VII. The Foundations of the Other Pioneer Parishes	107
VIII. Some Manifestations and Aspects of Catholic Life	131
IX. Bishop Loughlin Comes to Brooklyn	151
X. The Challenge of Immigration and the Multiplication of Parishes	166
XI. The Expansion of Catholic Education	182
XII. The Problems of Relief and Their Solution	205
XIII. Some Aspects of Catholic Life	227
XIV. The Recruitment and Training of the Clergy	246
XV. The Bishop's Relations with His People and with the General Public	262
Abbreviations Used in Notes	287
Notes to Volume One	291

ILLUSTRATIONS

	<i>Facing Page</i>
Most Reverend John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore	16
Most Reverend Richard L. Concanen, O.P., Bishop of New York	16
Most Reverend John Connolly, O.P., Bishop of New York	16
Most Reverend John Dubois, Bishop of New York	16
Most Reverend John Hughes, Archbishop of New York	17
The Purcell House	38
Map of Brooklyn Village	39
Most Reverend John Loughlin, Bishop of Brooklyn	162
Brief of Erection of the Diocese of Brooklyn	163
His Eminence John Cardinal McCloskey, Archbishop of New York	262
Most Reverend David W. Bacon, Bishop of Portland, Maine	262
Most Reverend Bernard O'Reilly, Bishop of Hartford	262
Most Reverend William G. McCloskey, Bishop of Louisville	262
St. James' Pro-Cathedral	263

THE BEGINNINGS OF CATHOLICISM ON LONG ISLAND

PROBABLY WE SHALL NEVER KNOW if Long Island was visited by St. Brendan or other Irish seafarers between the sixth and ninth centuries, or if their Catholic coreligionists, the Vikings, began sailing to its neighborhood shortly after the year 1000. Some historians have made such statements.¹

It is, however, an historical fact that the area comprising the present diocese of Brooklyn was visited in the early 16th century by a Catholic European. He was Giovanni da Verrazzano, a distinguished Florentine in the service of Francis I of France. In 1524 he sailed his caravel *Dauphin* into New York harbor, but he tarried only briefly and then departed for the New England coasts and France. He could not have dreamed of the New World colossus that now bestrides the harbor or of his own statue at the Battery today.

Back at Dieppe, he wrote on July 8, 1524, to his sovereign the earliest known description of the region:

We found a very pleasant situation among some steep hills, through which a very large river, deep at its mouth, forced its way to the sea . . . we took the (small) boat, and entering the river we found the country on its banks well peopled. . . . They [Indians] came towards us with evident delight. . . . We passed up the river about half a league, where it formed a most beautiful lake, three leagues in circuit, upon which they were rowing thirty or more of their small boats. . . . All of a sudden . . . a violent contrary wind blew in from the sea, and forced us to return to our ship, greatly regretting to leave this region, which seemed so commodious and delightful. . . .

Toward the end of his letter he noted, "As to the faith all these people hold . . . they are very easy to persuade, for all that they had ever seen the Christians do in divine worship, they did with that spirit and fervor that we did." ² It is known that Catholic expeditions in this period seldom sailed from the Old World without one or more priests on their ships, but Verrazzano's letter does not definitely locate the scene or specify the character of this religious service, and there is no proof of priests or Mass.

Of the many other early explorers known to have visited this continent, one deserves particular mention. He was Estevan Gomez, a Portuguese in the employ of Emperor Charles V. It has been said that he named Long Island the "Island of the Apostles" because he first saw it on their feast day, June 29, 1525.³ The statement, now almost traditional, seems to be without basis in fact.⁴ But, surely, Catholic discovery, Catholic history, and poetic license entitle the diocese of Brooklyn to the prophetic name, *Insula Apostolorum*.

The beginning of European settlement on Long Island was Dutch. On September 11, 1609, Hudson, an English navigator in the service of the Dutch East India Company, discovered the river which bears his name. The settlement of lower Manhattan, under the name of Nieuw Amsterdam and the auspices of the new Dutch West India Company, began in earnest in 1623. The first grants of land on Long Island were made by the company on June 7, 1636, to Van Corlaer and others in Castateeuw or Flatlands; the next June, Joris Rapelje secured farmland at Rinnegackonck Creek at the Wallabout.⁵ In 1643 "Pieter Ceser Alburtis, Italien" started to grow tobacco on the Indian maize fields of Mareekawieck, on present Fulton Street between Nevins and Smith Streets. Adjoining his property was the land of "Michile fransman (Michael Piat, frenchman)." ⁶ By that time, the hamlet of Breuckelen had begun. It lay on the broken, marshy lands lying between Gowanus and the Wallabout. Soon there were a half-dozen other small Dutch outposts in Kings County. Meanwhile, farther east another nationality and culture were filtering in and from 1640 to 1660 a dozen English settlements were founded between Southampton and Gravesend.

By 1660 only 134 persons dwelt within the square mile bounded

by Brooklyn, Gowanus, the Ferry, and the Wallabout; while in New Amsterdam, across the river, 1,600 people lived. Probably about as many were living in the English settlements on Long Island. The few thousand original occupants of Long Island quickly dwindled as a result of Indian raids from the mainland and Dutch and English aggression.⁷ The frontier atmosphere was relieved neither by Hiawathas nor by characters from Washington Irving. As in the homeland, officialdom persecuted dissenters from the Reformed Dutch Church. However, for the sake of trade, the Dutch West India Company gradually moderated the zeal of the Amsterdam Classis, the New Netherlands clergymen, and Governor Stuyvesant, until by 1663 Jews, Lutherans, Quakers, and independents were tolerated. But Catholic worship was interdicted in the Dutch colony and in the English settlements. Nevertheless, a few Catholics had come and some records of them remain.⁸

One of them, Sir Edmund Plowden, received a charter in June, 1634, from Charles I of England empowering him to plant a colony on "Long Isle" and to the southwest in New Jersey and Delaware, the whole to be called "New Albion" or "Plowden's Isle." The charter included plans to evangelize the Indians and envisioned a shelter for persecuted people. It promised "no persecution to any dissenting; and . . . to punish all as seditious and for contempt as *Bitter* rail and condemn others for the contrary."⁹ Plowden arrived in New Amsterdam in 1642, but Governor Kieft denied his claim. It has been said that a few Catholic companions remained but Plowden himself returned to England. In the next year St. Isaac Jogues probably gazed upon Long Island as he sailed from New Amsterdam on a last visit to France before his martyrdom.

That some Catholics lived in Brooklyn is evident from the following incident. After quarrels between the Flatbush, Flatlands, and Brooklyn congregations and Dominie Polhemus, their Dutch minister, Governor Stuyvesant's council ordered in 1656 that the three communities regularly pay the minister's salary. Accordingly, all were assessed in February, 1657. On March 26, Tonne-mann, the collector, complained that he could collect no taxes and had suffered bad treatment at the hands of five citizens, including a certain Nicolaes the Frenchman from the Wallabout. All were

cited before the governor and his council, and that body pronounced the five guilty, since they refused payment and "behaved very insolently and stubbornly, making none but frivolous excuses, one for instance, that he was a Catholic." Accordingly, they were sentenced on April 2 to pay 12 guilders each, a considerable sum in those days.¹⁰ Probably Nicolaes the Frenchman from the Wallabout was the Catholic. We may take his motive at its face value and set him down as Brooklyn's first confessor to the Faith. We know nothing more of him than that.

From 1647 to 1662 there was intermittent talk in Roman ecclesiastical circles and elsewhere in Europe of sending Catholic missionaries to New Netherlands. The Congregation of the Propaganda was informed in 1659 that a missionary was desired by many Catholic merchants who had gone to New Holland in America, and a German priest was selected. Two Dutch priests were given permission by the Dutch government in August, 1662, to minister privately to Catholics in New York; but if they came, they left no trace.¹¹ In 1663 François de Montmorency Laval, first bishop of Quebec, wrote to the Propaganda at Rome, stating that "in New Belgium there are two new missions," one of which was "in the Island near Manhattan called Long-Elen. This is among the Apamenagotouc natives and numbers 1,000 families."¹² But nothing more is known about that project. Records also disclose that at about this time Prince Ferdinand Maria, Elector of Bavaria, was negotiating with the Dutch for the purchase of New Netherlands for the purpose of Catholic colonization.¹³ Had the project gone through, history might have taken a different turn; but on September 3, 1664, the colony fell to the English and became the province of New York under the proprietorship of James, Duke of York.

A policy of trade rather than colonization had kept the Dutch colony weak, but under English rule both population and trade expanded. Brooklyn developed some primitive manufactories and grist and saw mills and by 1675 had become the wealthiest of the Long Island Dutch towns.¹⁴ A lyrical description of a trip through Kings County in 1678 remains.¹⁵ At about the same time a Hempstead minister wrote of Long Island, "If there be any terrestrial canaan, 'tis surely here."¹⁶ In 1691 Governor Ingoldsby reported:

Long Island is pleasantly situated and well planted . . . the east end being chiefly settled by New England people. . . . Their improvements are most in pasturage and whaling. What is produced from their industry is frequently carried to Boston. . . . The middle of the Island [is] altogether barren; the west end chiefly employed in tillage, which in a great measure supply traffig of New Yorke.¹⁷

Significant religious changes came with the new proprietor. The Duke's Laws of 1664 disestablished the Dutch Reformed Church, forbade disturbing private prayer meetings, and established the Anglican Church. Ten years later James declared himself a Catholic and instructed Sir Edmond Andros, the Anglican governor of New York, to "permit all persons of what Religion soever, quietly to inhabitt within the precincts of your jurisdiction without giving them any disturbance or disquiet. . . . Provided they give noe disturbance to the public peace."¹⁸

Sir Thomas Dongan, an Irish Catholic of distinguished family and service, succeeded Andros as governor in September, 1682. He reached Nantasket on August 10, 1683, and crossed to Long Island. With the defiances of the East Hampton Puritans ringing in their ears, Dongan's cavalcade travelled westward the length of Long Island and on the way probably assisted at a first Mass on Long Island celebrated by Father Thomas Harvey, S.J., the chaplain of the governor. Passing through Brooklyn, the company entered New York on August 25. Next morning Harvey offered the first known Mass in New York City on the site of the present Customs House.¹⁹

Dongan's greatest claim to local fame was the Provincial Charter of Liberties, which he drafted and signed in New York under ducal instructions on October 30, 1683. It asserted the right of people to participate in their government and made the following specific provision:

. . . no person or persons which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ shall at any time be any ways molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any difference in opinion or matter of religious concernment . . . but that all and every such person or persons may . . . have and fully enjoy his or their judgments or consciences in matters of Religion throughout all this Province.²⁰

New York's central geographical position made it a pivotal province, and Dongan saved this province for the Crown by out-

maneuvering the French. His dealings with the natives had a dignity and equity unparalleled in English Colonial times. He allowed the Jews a synagogue and public worship in 1687, when the council and corporation had refused their petition. The same year his council resolved "that all Christian Indiyans and children of Christian parents brought from the Towns of Campeachy and Vera Cruz and sold as slaves in this province shall be free." ²¹ In 1688 Dongan ordered that all Indian slaves within the province and subjects of the King of Spain, who could give an account of their Christian faith and say the Lord's Prayer, "be forthwith sett at liberty and sent home . . . and likewise them that shall hereafter come to this province." ²²

The governor secured four more Jesuits and was hopeful of enlisting others to minister to the Indians and to some expected Irish colonists. The priests supported themselves by conducting, until 1689, a school attended largely by Protestant youths.

Then James II, deciding to merge all the colonies under former Governor Andros seated at Boston, ordered Dongan in March, 1688, to surrender the provincial seal and to return to England for promotion. Dongan retired instead to his Hempstead estate ²³ near Lake Success, Long Island, to recoup his finances. Then the fortunes of the king quickly waned as William of Orange was called in to secure the Protestant succession. James was forced to flee from England in December. The anti-Catholic feeling in England and the Revolution of 1688, aggravated by the imminence of war with France, culminated, the next year, in the overthrow of the New York government by an uprising led by Jacob Leisler. The local feeling and the latter's mentality were evident in his statement that "in searching Livingston's house, we found a case belonging to a french Jesuit of Canada, & some Indian Categismes, & the lesson to learne to make their God before they eit them, with crucifix." ²⁴

In the troubles that followed, Dongan was suspected of popish plots. He was forced to travel in disguise to Boston and from that port sailed for England. In 1698 he succeeded to the title of Earl of Limerick and was so recognized by King William, who urged that he be allowed to return to Lake Success. But he died in Lon-

don in 1715, impoverished by property losses incurred for the crown.²⁵

Dominie Selyns, Dutch clergyman of Brooklyn, had found Dongan "a person of knowledge, politeness and friendliness." That Dongan had ruled his Protestant colony impartially and had won universal esteem, that he formulated a Colonial policy far ahead of his time, and that he was one of the ablest and most attractive persons in American Colonial history—is generally conceded.

By May, 1691, a new royal governor had arrived from England and Leisler was executed. Under Governor Slaughter the Colonial assembly decreed:

No person professing faith in God by Jesus Christ shall be disturbed or questioned for different opinions in Religion, if he do not disturb the public peace, provided always that nothing herein mentioned as contained shall extend to give liberty for any person of the Romish religion to exercise their manner of worship, contrary to the laws of their Majesty's Kingdom of England.²⁶

Catholics could not have constituted a very grave threat, for Dongan had worshipped privately and, from necessity and prudence, formed his council of Protestants. In 1682 Dominie Selyns, enumerating Quakers, Jews, and Labadists wrote that as to Papists, there were none, or if there were any, they attended his service or that of the Lutherans. Dongan himself reported in 1687: "Here bee not many of the Church of England—few Roman Catholics, abundance of Quakers . . . in short of all sorts of opinions, there are some, and the most part, of none at all." Rudolphus van Varik, minister in Kings County, 1685-1694, wrote the Amsterdam Classis in 1688, "Some have come over to us from Popery and Lutheranism since our arrival."²⁷ But the phrase, "liberty of conscience to all save papists," would recur for another century.

In the century following Dongan's departure, Long Island and Brooklyn grew but slowly. In 1698 Kings County had a population of 2,017, of whom 293 were slaves; Queens, then including present Nassau, numbered 3,565; and Suffolk, 2,679. By 1771 Kings had grown to 3,623; Queens had 10,980 and Suffolk, 13,128. New York was then a small provincial town of about 16,000.²⁸

The news of government and politics and of Indian and continental wars could be read in the *Weekly Gazette*, New York's

first newspaper, which had begun in 1725. A few advertisements and "cuts" of runaway slaves and sailing ships enlivened its pages. Occasionally, letters spoke of the vastness of the interior or argued various religious beliefs.

Hygiene was crude and epidemics were common. Slaves, set free when too old to work, turned beggars. Petty larceny received capital punishment, while officials connived at privateering, piracy, and smuggling. Captain Kidd left many legendary caches on Long Island. Brooklyn amused itself with bull- and bear-baiting and cock-fighting, horses raced on Hempstead plains, and the fox was hunted in Flatlands. Industry and trade began to occupy more of Brooklyn life, while, farther east, a gun was as necessary as an axe, and farming and fishing were the chief occupations. In 1772 the first stage linked Brooklyn Ferry and Sag Harbor. The weekly trip took three days and cost 18 shillings.

A few church schools kept alive the Dutch tongue but knowledge was elementary and the few books were generally religious. In 1695 a Dutch Reformed minister served the largely Dutch families of Flatbush, Brooklyn, and Utrecht. The English dissenters had churches and ministers at Jamaica, Newtown, and Hempstead, as well as eight or nine ministers and meeting houses in Suffolk.²⁹ In 1704 the Anglicans established their first church at Jamaica; by 1778 they had formed their sixth congregation—the first in Brooklyn. Dutch Calvinists and English Congregationalists and Presbyterians disliked Anglicanism only less than Catholicism. Colonial officialdom, however, was composed of Anglicans and a few Dutch aristocrats, whereas the growing middle class was English Nonconformist.

Catholic hopes for religious freedom had long since disappeared. The decree of 1691, which refused the Catholics liberty of worship, became more severe when Governor Bellomont and the General Assembly enacted on August 9, 1700, that Jesuits and priests depart before November "on penalty to suffer perpetual imprisonment and if any person being so sentenced and actually imprisoned shall break prison and make his escape . . . he shall suffer such pains of death, penalties and forfeiture as in cases of felony." They provided that anyone who harbored a priest or gave him a night's shelter was punishable by a heavy fine and the

pillory.³⁰ In 1701 they prohibited "All Papists and Popish recusants . . . from voting for members of assembly or any office whatever from henceforth and forever."³¹

The law passed against Catholic priests was only once enforced: to bring to death, not a Catholic priest, but a Protestant clergyman in the so-called Negro revolt of 1741. He was John Ury, hanged in New York, "by way of my amuzement," as Judge Horsmanden wrote Governor Colden, and also because he knew Latin and, further, as prosecuting attorney Smith averred, "When a man, contrary to the evidence of his senses, can believe the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation . . . he is capable of any villainy."³² The whole practice of English law was against toleration. Penal statutes were cast in such form that religious acts were punished as felony and treason. This frame of mind was not confined to the unlettered. "Popish plots" were fascinating perils that enlivened the general dullness. This anti-Catholic British tradition permeated religion, education, literature, and political and social life. It has been said that the keynote to American history lies in the study of American Presbyterianism.³³ The ministers of that denomination were never vague in their dislike of Catholics. Yet we read, "There is nothing more absurd than the religious legislation in the colonies against Roman Catholics. One would suppose that the Roman Church were a constant threat to colonial institutions. The fact was far otherwise."³⁴

In the circumstances, the Long Island Catholics found religious restrictions as severe as in Ireland, where, as the historian Lecky says, the law did not suppose a Roman Catholic existed.³⁵ Unable to practise their Faith, probably most of those who remained on Long Island lost it, and sometimes even their names: O'Toole, for example, often becoming Tuttle; O'Shaughnessy, Chauncey; and O'Brien, Bryan.

It is not surprising, therefore, that contemporary accounts state that the colony of New York had few Catholics. Sometime after 1763 Bishop Richard Challoner, of the London district, reported to Rome that ". . . in New York, one may find a Catholic here and there, but they have no opportunity of practicing their religion as no priest visits them, and . . . there is not much likelihood that Catholic priests will be permitted to enter these provinces."³⁶ To

be a Catholic was to be passively disloyal to the Protestant succession. Safety lay in obscurity.

Despite the prohibition of the religion of the majority of the Irish, a considerable number of Irish names may be found liberally sprinkled through the 17th- and 18th-century records of towns and villages from Gravesend and Newtown to Southold and Southampton. They crop up in civil rate and tax lists, genealogies, private journals and account books, and in the early newspapers and local histories. Some were persons of means, others held positions of civil trust, some were runaway servants and apprentices. A number were schoolmasters and a large number were listed on the militia muster-rolls. The names that have been preserved were probably only a fraction of the Irish who lived in this predominantly Dutch and English Protestant colony and contributed to its development. There is no way of ascertaining their religious affiliation, but from the almost complete absence of Irish surnames on Protestant church-rolls, the presumption is that they were originally Catholic. It is interesting to observe that in the Dutch Reformed Church of Brooklyn, a number of girls were baptized Mary. Many landholders also without Irish surnames had Patrick or Bridget for Christian names.³⁷

Others also, such as political prisoners, indentured servants, and kidnapped children, were brought here from Catholic lands against their will. Catholic West Indians, free and slave, as well as captive French and Spanish soldiers and sailors, were often billeted in the suburbs. Reverend Peter de Mareuil, S.J., a missionary to the Iroquois, who was treacherously arrested at Albany in 1709, was sent with other French prisoners to Flatbush, while his servant was confined at Hempstead. Some details of their confinement have been recorded:

[They] were severally charged not to go above a mile from the homes they are respectively lodged in nor without some one of the inhabitants of the Town with them and that they be not out of their lodging any evening after sunsett . . . that so long as they behave themselves they shall be civilly treated.³⁸

In April, 1711, Father de Mareuil was exchanged and sent to Montreal.

From 1744 to 1748 a number of French and Spanish prisoners

were held for exchange in Jamaica and Flatbush. In July, 1757, 75 French prisoners were distributed through Kings County. The next month two dozen French officers were boarded at Hinchman's Jamaica Tavern before assignment to private families at Newtown, Oyster Bay, and elsewhere in Queens. On June 7, 1758, seven of 140 French prisoners broke Suffolk County jail but were recaptured. In April, 1761, some French soldiers were sent from Hempstead and Jamaica to France.

Some of the thousands of Catholic Acadians, deported by the English from Nova Scotia in the middle of the 18th century and scattered from Maine to Florida, also lived a few years on Long Island.³⁹ They were called French neutrals and had been banished for "refusing to take an oath [of allegiance to England] . . . which Christianity absolutely forbids."⁴⁰

Two groups came to Long Island. The second to arrive had been shipped to Georgia and South Carolina, but the governors of those colonies furnished some of them with passes and allowed them to work their way north in small craft. Their progress up the coast was facetiously reported in the press. When 78 of them put ashore at a small cove on Long Island on August 22, 1756, thereupon Governor Hardy of New York lodged them with Jacob Brewerton at Brooklyn Ferry for a few days until he arranged for their transportation to Westchester and Orange Counties.⁴¹

The first group to come stayed longer. Shipped in the brig *Experiment* in the fall of 1755 for New York, they were blown off their course as far as the Lesser Antilles. The ship finally reached New York on April 28, 1756, with 151 Acadians on board. The group was confined at Richmondtown, Staten Island, until May 6, when 42 of them were sent to Westchester and Richmond Counties and the remaining 109 distributed on Long Island from Flatbush to East Hampton. "Poor, Naked and destitute of every convenience and Support of Life," they were entrusted to the several magistrates who, in turn, bound them out under the supervision of overseers of the poor of the various towns, "to the end that they may not continue as they now really are, useless to his Majesty, themselves and a Burthen to the Colony."⁴²

The family names, "horribly mangled," and the brief Long Island residences of these unfortunate people have come down to

us. Kings County was the place of exile of Joseph Malie, his wife, and seven children, who were sent to Flatbush; and of Joseph Blanchard, his wife, and three children, who were sent to live in Bushwick.

Six families were assigned to Queens County: Seres Etben with his wife and their eight children went to Newtown. Joseph Commo, his wife, and seven children were sent to Flushing. Glode Doucet, with his wife and eight children, was given quarters in Jamaica. Zachariah Richard, his wife, and seven children were lodged in Hempstead. Oyster Bay was the place of exile of two families—Charles Matton with his wife and three children, and John Marten and his wife and two children.

Among the seven family groups sent to Suffolk were Peter Loe, his wife, and seven children, who were billeted at Smithtown. Lewis Geroid, with his wife and six children, and Jerama Gouder and his wife and two children were stationed at Huntington. Those assigned to Brookhaven were Francis Commo, his wife, and eight children. Southold harbored Michael Richard with his wife and their six children. Francis Martin and his wife and five children went to East Hampton. To Southampton was sent Alex Etbert with his wife and five children.

The only reference discovered regarding the religious life of these exiles is the purchase of a French Bible by Francis LeBau of Southampton, whom the local records call a French neutral. The houses occupied by the Acadians have disappeared. Published lists of old gravestones on Long Island have been studied, but no gravestones have been found to mark their burials. There is a record of one death only, that of the almost nameless "French John" of Newtown, accidentally drowned on June 28, 1761. Of marriages there is knowledge of only one, that of Mary LeBau; and this information has been handed down by oral tradition alone.⁴³ A number of Frenchmen were naturalized in New York City in the 1760's, but none of them bore a known Acadian name. In November, 1763, a census revealed 249 French neutrals in the province of New York—38 men, 40 women, and 171 children. It is probable that during the next year the Long Island Acadians were deported, possibly back to France. Information about the Long Island Acadians ceases abruptly in 1764.

If it were not for the fragmentary information related in the civil records and the precise way in which their American hosts tallied every penny expended for the Acadians, it would be hard to believe that any had ever lived on Long Island. It has been said that "some of their descendants owning French names but ignorant of their Catholic ancestry still linger" on Long Island.⁴⁴ It does not seem likely. Exiled because of their religion, they became the second known confessors of the Catholic faith on Long Island.

The spoliation and banishment of the Acadians was but one link in the chain of events that deprived Great Britain of the original 13 colonies and, against the instincts of the American colonists themselves, brought a substantial measure of religious liberty, not only to Canada but to the future United States as well.

The French and Indian War ended with the cession to England in February, 1763, of New France, which included Canada and the whole Ohio-Mississippi territory at the back of the seaboard English colonies. To secure the political loyalty of their new subjects, Parliament decreed by the Quebec Act, effective in June, 1774, the free exercise of the Catholic religion in this region. This gesture toward religious liberty for Catholics was not welcomed by the inhabitants of the 13 colonies, for "The members of Congress had not wholly purged themselves of Protestant bigotry,"⁴⁵ and as a consequence, in 1776, the mission of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and the cousins, Father John Carroll and Charles Carroll, to win Canadian support for the colonists failed.⁴⁶

The War for Independence which followed was a civil war as well. Kings County was loyalist and Queens largely so, but Suffolk was almost entirely rebel.⁴⁷ On Long Island, as throughout the colonies, Catholics and Irish also divided their allegiances, but most of them sided with the Revolution.⁴⁸ The first considerable engagement, the battle of Long Island, was fought for possession of the key colony of New York. It took place principally in Kings County from August 27 to 29, 1776. Among the Colonial soldiers distinguishing themselves in the action were four largely (73 per cent) Irish regiments of the famous Pennsylvania Line commanded by four Irish-born colonels. Many of the Maryland and Delaware troops were Catholic and they lost heavily.⁴⁹ Thereafter until 1783

Brooklyn and the outlying settlements were British garrison posts, while thousands of patriots, including hundreds with Irish names, perished on the prison ships that rotted in the Wallabout.⁵⁰ In fact, a close study of the muster-rolls of the colonies has yielded a conservative estimate that 38 per cent of the American Revolutionary forces were Irish or of Irish descent. Other Catholic nations also befriended the cause of democracy. From Poland came some splendid officers, while France furnished indispensable land and sea forces and, with Spain, gave considerable financial aid.⁵¹

Among the Catholics who upheld the cause of England were 180 men of the Roman Catholic Volunteers under Major John Lynch. They encamped during 1778 at Yellow Hook, Gowanus. In October they were merged with the Volunteers of Ireland, one of three Loyalist regiments raised by General Howe in Philadelphia. The joint organization was stationed at Jamaica under Lord Rawdon. On St. Patrick's Day, 1779, they paraded in New York, 500 strong, "all natives of Ireland," and had dinner on the Bowery. In 1780 they celebrated at Jamaica.⁵² There were some Catholics also among the 29,875 German mercenaries hired by the British. Some troops from Hesse-Hanau, Westphalia, and Ansbach-Bayreuth, the latter with Father Francis Piret, a former Jesuit, as chaplain, were stationed for a time at Manhasset, Wheatley, Westbury, and Jericho.⁵³

After the military issues were decided on the field, the struggle for constitutional government and for religious liberty was continued. In June, 1788, the Constitution of the United States had been ratified by the required number of states. That instrument stated in Article 6, Section 3, that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." Among its signers were two Catholics, Daniel Carroll and Thomas FitzSimons.⁵⁴ Finally, the Bill of Rights, or first ten amendments to the Constitution, became part of the Constitution when it was ratified by the states in December, 1791. The first amendment declared that "Congress shall make no law regarding an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Despite the wise and equitable legislation of the central government, the provisions of several of the state governments prevented

Catholics from voting and holding office for years. In New York the provincial convention proposed that "the free toleration of religious profession and worship shall forever hereafter be allowed to all mankind," against the anti-Catholic opposition of John Jay. The act of April, 1784, revoked state support for the Protestant Episcopal Church and the law against the entry of priests; but, from 1788 on, it was required that all state office-holders should "solemnly swear without mental reservation to renounce all allegiance to all and every foreign king and potentate in ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters." Some years later this oath kept Francis Cooper, a Catholic elected to the State Assembly, from taking his seat, until De Witt Clinton presented a petition of the Catholics of St. Peter's Church to the Assembly. To secure Catholic election support, the Democrats revised the oath against Federalist opposition and Cooper was seated in January, 1806.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, sporadic persecution of Catholics continued under the perennial guise of danger to the state.

Meanwhile, on April 30, 1789, the congregation at St. Peter's assisted at a special Mass and, at noon, on the balcony of Federal Hall at Broad and Wall Streets, the first President of the United States took the oath of office. On the balcony with Washington stood, among others, a group of distinguished Catholics. As Washington began his second year of office, he was presented with a patriotic address from the Catholics of the United States. Many New York Catholics signed it, as did Bishop-elect John Carroll for the clergy. Washington replied to them on March 12, 1790:

And I presume that your fellow citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their Revolution, and the establishment of your Government: or the important assistance which they received from a Nation in which the Roman Catholic faith is professed.⁵⁶

Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore had already defended Catholic patriotism against a detractor in words that deserve to stand beside Washington's:

Their blood flowed as freely in proportion to their numbers, to cement the fabric of independence, as that of any of their fellow citizens. They concurred with perhaps greater unanimity than any other body of men in recommending and promoting that government from

whose influence America anticipates all the blessings of justice, peace, plenty, good order, and civil and religious liberty.⁵⁷

The Revolution had ended dependence of State and Church on England. The great experiment of American democracy had begun and the tried, centuries-old Church of Rome was free to live in the brave young nation.

The first American bishop, John Carroll, was born at Upper Marlboro, Maryland, on January 8, 1735. Educated abroad, he entered the Society of Jesus and was ordained in 1769. Five years later he returned for a missionary life in Maryland and Virginia. In November, 1784, he was appointed prefect apostolic. Almost immediately, the Nugent schism in New York crystallized the need for the authority of a resident bishop, and on November 6, 1789, Pope Pius VI erected the diocese of Baltimore and named Carroll its first bishop.⁵⁸ Next year, on August 15, 1790, at Lulworth Castle, England, Carroll was consecrated by Bishop Charles Walmseley, O.S.B. He returned to the States on December 7, 1790.

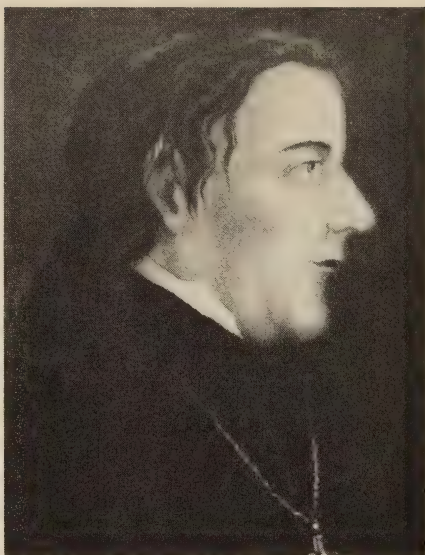
Carroll's jurisdiction was coextensive with the United States at the time and within 13 years the Louisiana Purchase would double it. His flock was estimated to have totalled in 1790 about 35,000—half in Maryland, a relatively large number in Pennsylvania, perhaps 2,000 in New York, and the rest spread elsewhere among the general population of nearly 4,000,000. The new bishop described them as scattered, poor and dejected, and visited only occasionally by priests. He urged the Faithful to be prepared for death, so that during the frequent epidemics priests would be free to visit the sick who had been unable to confess.⁵⁹ There was some domestic religious instruction, but there were no Catholic schools and almost no Catholic books, for their publication had been forbidden under English rule.⁶⁰

Carroll's problems were to found an American clergy, organize parishes, provide religious education for youth, and safeguard the flock from heresy and indifferentism. The legal relations of the parish with the community needed definition. The Church was to be made known, the public conciliated, the Faithful encouraged. Finances, trusteeism, and unworthy priests would be his most pressing problems.

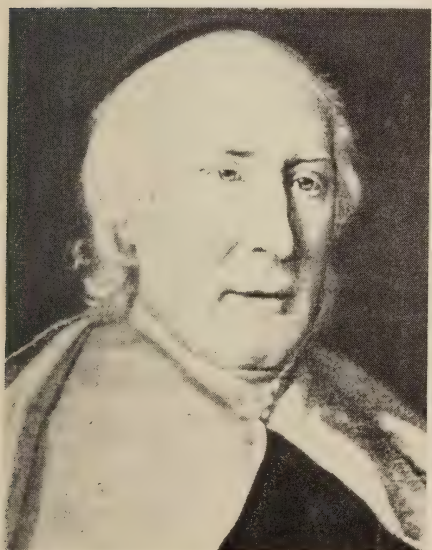
In 1773 there were about 20 English and German Jesuits in



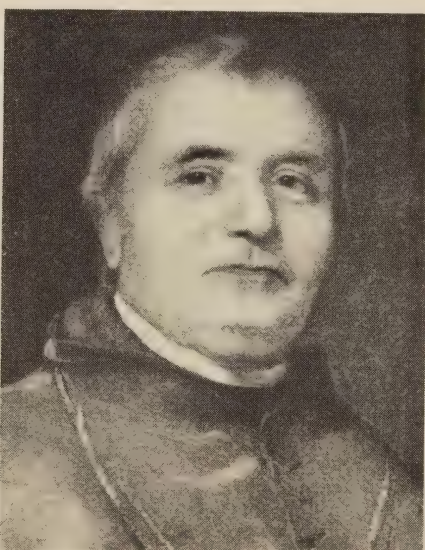
Most Reverend John Carroll, D.D.
1735-1815
Archbishop of Baltimore



Most Reverend John Connolly,
O.P., D.D.
1750-1825
Second Bishop of New York



Most Reverend Richard L. Concanen,
O.P., D.D.
c.1746-1810
First Bishop of New York



Most Reverend John Dubois, SS., D.D.
1764-1842
Third Bishop of New York



Most Reverend John Hughes, D.D.
1797-1864
Archbishop of New York

Maryland and Pennsylvania, of whom five were ill and old. The suppression of the Society of Jesus (1773 to 1814) cut off a further supply. By September 27, 1790, Bishop Carroll had received or recognized only 30 priests. That year, his first college, Georgetown, was founded. Next year, four Sulpicians arrived in Baltimore to begin the first seminary, St. Mary's. He corresponded ceaselessly, trying to draw worthy priests from abroad; but Propaganda was despoiled, the French Church ruined and its seminaries swept away.

Some of these early priests had little education; some were rovers; others, accustomed to State support, were not prepared for American hardships and the amateur churchmanship of lay trustees. Other priests were zealous and, in the epidemics, heroic. Italy furnished only two names; but Italian ports were blockaded, and Italian priests knew no English and might have roused anti-Roman feeling. Bishop Carroll had no agent for German priests, no money for their passage, and he could not meet the request for them made by the Germans of New York in 1808.⁶¹ The Irish clergy disappointed him. Some spoke French, Spanish, and Irish better than English. The French *emigré abbés*, outcast by the French Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the West Indian revolutions, were a godsend. By 1815, 100 of them had arrived, although a number returned to France after the Concordat of 1801. Their social charm and apostolic spirit impressed non-Catholics; their scholarship and self-denial helped establish the early Catholic colleges. However, some of them introduced a foreign tone and caused resentment. Soon after 1800 the Irish-born clergy became more numerous than any other nationals and they held that position for nearly a century.⁶²

Made Archbishop of Baltimore in 1808, John Carroll died seven years later. He had been a wise and providential chief shepherd of the Church and had taken an important part in America's struggle for freedom. His courtesy and goodness had won esteem from those hostile to the name "Catholic." "It will remain the glory forever of the Catholic Church in America that her hierarchy began with one so conspicuous for worth and merit as Bishop Carroll."⁶³

One of the first problems of the prefect apostolic of 1784 had been the growing flock in New York. There, even before the Revolution, a few Catholics had assisted at the Masses celebrated by Father Ferdinand Steinmeyer, S.J., alias Farmer.⁶⁴ In 1784 Steinmeyer returned and found 200 Catholics in the city, scarcely half of one per cent of the population of the state. Thereafter, he and the chaplains attached to the French, Portuguese, and Spanish legations, celebrated Mass with some regularity at the residences of those officials and elsewhere,⁶⁵ until on November 4, 1786, the first Mass could be offered in the recently constructed Church of St. Peter on Barclay Street. The French consul, Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, who was probably a deist, had been elected leader of the trustees of St. Peter's in July, 1785; and the Spanish minister, Don Diego de Gardoqui, had officiated at the cornerstone laying that October.⁶⁶ Thus, deprived of priest or bishop, the Catholics of New York organized the first congregation independently of ecclesiastical sanction.⁶⁷ The evil fruits of this unusual procedure soon became apparent.

Meanwhile, Father Charles Whelan, an Irish Capuchin and French fleet chaplain fresh from West Indian captivity, had reached New York in January, 1785, and was entrusted by Father Carroll with the care of the congregation. He reported the Catholics poor and uninstructed but zealous and generally Irish. "It is necessary," he said, ". . . to know Irish, English, French and Dutch, since our congregation is composed of people of these nationalities, as also of Portuguese and Spanish."⁶⁸

Toward the end of the year Father Andrew Nugent, an Irish Franciscan, came to assist. He was the kind of preacher the trustees preferred, so Carroll delegated preaching to him and parish administration to Whelan. Unfortunately, Nugent tried to supplant Whelan and he won the trustees to his side. They in turn threatened to remove Whelan by legal means. Realizing in January, 1786, the seriousness of the schism, Father Carroll reproved the priests and wrote to the trustees, protesting their assumption of authority:

If ever the principles then laid down should become predominant, the unity and catholicity of our Church would be at an end; and it

would be formed into distinct and independent societies, nearly in the same manner as the congregational Presbyterians of our neighboring New England States.⁶⁹

Worn out, Whelan left the parish, and Carroll was forced to appoint Nugent as temporary pastor. Then the latter and the trustees quarreled, with the result that the prefect apostolic came to investigate the charges. Nugent abused Carroll and refused to surrender the church. Accordingly, Father Carroll offered Mass with most of the people at the residence of Diego de Gardoqui, appointed Father William V. O'Brien, O.P., as pastor, and suspended Nugent, who, the next year, was ejected on court order by the trustees. But the dissension continued and Carroll found it necessary to publish an address to the Catholics of New York, explaining spiritual authority and Church discipline:

And how did they [your forefathers] obtain this great effect? Was it by intruding themselves into the sanctuary? Did they, did you before you crossed over into this country, assume to yourselves the rights of your first pastors? Did you name those clergymen who were charged with the immediate care of your souls? Did you invest them with their authority? Did you confer on them those powers, without which their ministry must be of no avail? No, dear Christians, neither your forefathers nor you assumed to yourselves those prerogatives: you never plunged that fatal dagger into the vitals of true religion.⁷⁰

Thus, in circumstances of strife, the Church of New York was born. The congregation had been organized, lay trustees elected as agents, and the first cornerstone laid, without ecclesiastical sanction or proprieties. It was the first congregation to suffer conflict between trustees and Church authority. It was a sad start, reflecting the troubled state of both ecclesiastical and civil affairs. However, the little flock preserved the name "Catholic" and built the first, and for 23 years, the only shrine of the Catholic faith in New York State.

With the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, the parish flourished under the pastorate of Father William O'Brien (1787-1807). Some two-score other priests are known to have ministered at St. Peter's from 1787 to 1815. Their devotion to their flock during the recurring epidemics was noted by non-Catholics. Of these clergymen, 16 were Irish, 14 French, 7 German, 3 native Ameri-

can, and 2 Italian. It is known that three of them visited Long Island: in 1805 and in 1808, Louis Sibourd (at St. Peter's, 1795 and 1804-1809); in 1808 also John Byrne (at St. Peter's, 1804-1808)⁷¹ and William O'Brien, who "never visited so great a Christian as" Mrs. Bernard McKenna, to whom he ministered when she was dying, some 30 miles out on Long Island.⁷² It is possible, also, that Bishop Carroll, in order to avoid the yellow fever quarantine at New York while on his way to Boston to dedicate Holy Cross Church there on September 29, 1803, came from Staten Island or Hoboken and proceeded to Flushing or Sag Harbor for the Boston boat.⁷³

Father William O'Brien and the trustees began the first Catholic school in New York on March 30, 1800, hiring rooms for the purpose until 1803, when a building was secured. The school received some public funds in 1806, the year that New York City's first public school opened, and again from 1814 to 1824.⁷⁴ It was at St. Peter's also that Father Matthew O'Brien received into the Church on March 14, 1805, Elizabeth Bayley Seton, foundress of the American Sisters of Charity. She is known to have spent with her children parts of the summers of 1796, 1798, and 1803 on Long Island, possibly at Gowanus and in "Nieuw" Utrecht, for she wrote, "I cannot spell the place . . . but it is one of the pleasantest."⁷⁵

THE DIOCESE OF NEW YORK,
1808-1825

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH began the 19th century in the United States with about 50 priests, a like number of churches, and a white Catholic population of perhaps 100,000.¹ She had few men of wealth, learning, or position. Yet the subsequent spiritual and material progress of that poverty-stricken, hard-working, unlettered, and persecuted Catholic minority has probably never been surpassed in any nation or age. Few men, if any, could have pictured her future greatness, but Pope Pius VII foresaw something of it when on April 8, 1808, he named John Carroll as Archbishop of Baltimore and erected the suffragan sees of New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Bardstown. To the diocese of New York the Holy Father assigned the state of New York and northern New Jersey; he selected Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., prior of St. Clement's in Rome, as its first bishop.²

Father Concanen was consecrated on April 24, 1808, at the age of 62. He prepared for duty in his distant see, enquiring much of Carroll about American life and planning a college and seminary for his diocese. The Napoleonic blockade prevented his departure from Europe and he finally asked Archbishop Carroll to appoint an administrator for New York. Then, in 1809 Pope Pius VII was imprisoned by Napoleon and papal administration all but ceased for the next five years. Thus many obstacles intervened, and Bishop Concanen was destined never to see New York, for he sickened and died at Naples on June 19, 1810.

The Alsatian-born Jesuit Father Anthony Kohlmann was the

administrator who had been appointed and he arrived at New York in the fall of 1808.³ He found but one priest at St. Peter's and this one priest was serving a congregation of about 14,000 in the city and about 2,000 elsewhere. All, except some hundreds of French and Germans and a handful of Spanish, were Irish.

Finding that a second church was imperatively needed, he laid the cornerstone of one outside the city at Prince and Mott Streets on June 8, 1809. Six years later, on May 4, 1815, Bishop John Lefevre de Cheverus of Boston dedicated it in the presence of city officials and over 4,000 persons. It was "the finest in the United States," as Bishop Octave Plessis of Quebec said, on a visit to New York later that year.⁴ At Archbishop Carroll's suggestion it was called St. Patrick's Cathedral.

The year before the cornerstone was laid, Father Kohlmann had opened the New York Literary Institute on Mulberry Street. It remained there until 1810, when it was located on property bought by Cornelius Heeney and Andrew Morris in the village of Elgin on the site of the present St. Patrick's Cathedral.⁵ The school was on friendly terms with Columbia College and at one time had 74 boarders from some of the best Catholic and Protestant families. Unhappily, its career was brief, for enough teachers could not be found to staff both the New York school and Georgetown, and it was closed in August, 1813.⁶

The closing of the school was offset in a measure by the entrance into the diocese of three religious communities. Some Ursuline nuns, whom Kohlmann had invited from Ireland, opened a girls' academy in present East 50th Street in 1812; some Trappist priests moved into the former Institute in 1814; and a few Trappistine nuns began an orphanage on Prince Street. But the hopes inspired by these ventures were also short-lived, for by 1815 the three communities had left New York for lack of novices.⁷ Then news came of Bishop Connolly's appointment and Kohlmann himself was withdrawn. He returned to Georgetown and, later, to a brilliant career in Rome, where he died on April 8, 1836. But Kohlmann had left his mark on New York. From his ministry to his flock arose the famous legal case in which he refused to testify to knowledge he had acquired through the confessional. His fidelity bore

fruit in the enactment in 1828 of a law of New York State respecting the secrecy of the confessional.⁹

Liberated by the downfall of Napoleon, Pius VII returned to Rome on May 24, 1814, and shortly afterwards appointed John Connolly, O.P., second bishop of the long-widowed see of New York. Like Concanen, Connolly was an Irish Dominican and prior of St. Clement's in Rome. Bishop Connolly was consecrated in Rome, November 6, 1814. It meant a great change in life for an aging scholar then two years older than Concanen had been at the time of the latter's consecration. With the War of 1812 still being waged, he hesitated to come here as an enemy alien and labored in Liège some months, begging funds and paraphernalia for his distant mission. When finally he sailed from Dublin for America, his ship met storms and was reported lost. Eventually, however, he reached New York, unannounced and sick, in November, 1815. Bishop Cheverus installed him at St. Patrick's on the 24th of that month. Nine days later Archbishop Carroll at Baltimore died without having seen him.

A new world was then dawning. In 1819 the New York-built side-wheeler *Savannah*, the first ocean steam-sailing ship, left Savannah on May 22 and reached Liverpool on June 20. Self-reliant America, no longer menaced by England and France, faced a dazzling future. The great western migration had begun and by 1820 nine new states lay in the Mississippi Valley. The Erie Canal, begun at Utica in 1817 and dug by hand by immigrants, opened in October, 1826. It opened up trade with the Great Lakes and the Northwest and brought commercial preeminence to New York.

The roseate dreams of America would be largely achieved through an unparalleled immigration that would soon be under way. The majority of immigrants who came to the United States between 1785 and 1820 were non-Catholics, yet during that period about 50,000 Irish and 27,000 English, French, and German Catholics arrived, enlarging the national Catholic population to about 195,000 in a general population of 9,638,000.⁹ For many years the state was unprepared to receive the immigrant properly. The bishops also were faced with this serious problem of immigrant care. The Irish Immigrant Association, formed in 1817, and

the short-lived Emigrant Assistance Society, formed in New York in 1826, offered what aid they could, while the *Truth Teller* of New York and the *United States Catholic Miscellany* of Charleston urged immigrants out of the seaports and into the country.¹⁰ Many of these people did pass on through the state along the Erie Canal, seeing a priest once or twice a year and travelling 100 miles to make their Easter duty and have their children baptized. Others never saw a priest and gradually lost the Faith. Many, too, remained in the city, where it was observed that the most hazardous work was done by Irishmen.¹¹

The Irish were generally regarded as uncouth and quarrelsome foreigners who competed with native labor. Anglo-Saxon hatred of the Catholic faith and intolerance toward foreigners, especially Irish, thrived also on the political changes wrought by the immigrant vote.¹² Although by 1821 the New York naturalization laws were acceptable to Catholics, nevertheless, five years later, the New York Common Council forbade trades to all save the naturalized.¹³ Symptomatic of some of the general feeling was the declaration in 1824 by Reverend William Hawley, chaplain to Congress: "Whoever will not be a Protestant under a Protestant government is a traitor."¹⁴

In such circumstances Bishop Connolly, reporting to Propaganda in 1818 on the state of his diocese, wrote, ". . . there are here about 16,000 Catholics, mostly Irish; at least 10,000 Irish Catholics arrived at New York *only*, within these last three years. They spread through all the other States of this Confederacy and make their religion known everywhere."¹⁵ In 1821 there were upwards of 20,000 Catholics in the city, "mostly Irish, whose attachment to the Faith is wonderful,"¹⁶ while the total number in the whole diocese was reported to be 80,000. To help him in the city, the bishop found three Jesuits—Benedict Fenwick, Maximilian Rantzaui, and Peter Malou—and a Dominican, Thomas Carbry, in addition to Father Michael O'Gorman, who had accompanied him from Ireland.¹⁷ In the city also were two churches and one school, the latter at St. Peter's, besides a few private schools conducted by Catholic lay persons. There was little in Catholic letters to encourage the bishop, for the *Shamrock or Hibernian Chronicle*, begun in 1810 by Thomas O'Connor, ceased

publication in 1817. It was the first New York newspaper published by a Catholic. However, local Catholics were soon reading the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, a weekly paper begun by Bishop John England in Charleston, South Carolina, June 5, 1822. A few Catholic books continued to be published in New York.¹⁸

Bishop Connolly's problem was clear: it was necessary that he secure priests for his scattered people. The Faith was there but it seemed doubtful that it could be husbanded. Calling himself a missionary priest, he began visitations of his diocese, then comprising 51,000 square miles—no mean accomplishment at his age and in those days. He brought to New York in 1817 the first Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg—Sisters Rose White, Cecilia O'Conway, and Felicité Brady—and with their help began at St. Patrick's a church-basement school and, in a frame cottage donated by Cornelius Heeney, an orphanage. By 1822, after six years of labor, the bishop had five churches outside the city. There were then eight priests in the diocese—John Power and Charles Ffrench, O.P., at St Peter's; Michael O'Gorman at St. Patrick's; Philip Lariscy, O.S.A., serving Staten Island and the land along the Hudson River; Richard Bulger in Paterson; Michael Carroll in Albany; Patrick Kelly at Auburn and Rochester; and John Farnan at Utica. This information is contained in the *Laity's Directory to the Church Service . . . for the year 1822*, which was published in New York and edited by Father John Power.¹⁹ The *Directory* concluded with wonderment at the rapid increase of Catholicism in the United States and with hope for a greater harvest—a frequent and, it would seem, an unduly optimistic theme in those days.

Bishop Connolly undoubtedly could have done more, were it not for his poverty and the scarcity of priests. Upon his arrival he found a debt of \$60,000 at seven per cent interest on the cathedral, and when he died in 1825 all but two of the above-named priests had died or departed. But far worse than poverty or scarcity of priests, trustee trouble had returned, involving bishop, priests, and people in serious difficulty.

Fathers O'Brien and Kohlmann had kept the peace in New York, but in the decade after Archbishop Carroll's death in 1815,

unity and concord disappeared. For decades thereafter trustee trouble threatened Church unity in the United States, for the phenomenon was not peculiar to New York. The vigilance of the bishops in safeguarding the principle of ecclesiastical authority and their insistence on unity would eventually weather the gathering storm and prove to be an often-forgotten Americanizing influence in the experiment of the melting pot, but until victory was achieved, the infant Church would be in mortal peril.

The most active leaders in the trustee movement aimed, as Carroll had pointed out at the time of the Nugent schism, at a congregational church foreign to Catholicism. They were ignorant of the fact that in the Church all jurisdiction and all rights are derived from God and flow downward from above.²⁰ But in the new-found liberty of the young Republic the trustee idea had plausibility. In fact the *Long Island Star* declared on February 6, 1823, “. . . every congregation possesses an inherent power to choose its own clergy,” and it spoke of the extraordinary arrogance of Pope Pius VII's recent attempt to “interfere with religious rights and temporal concerns of our country.” It is true that the practice of some Catholics lent seeming justification to this opinion. Often without church or pastor they collected money, bought property, conferred the title on some of their number as trustees, and then sought a pastor.

Allied with this non-Catholic spirit were the personal and nationalistic feelings roused in some Catholics by the selection of bishops for the United States. The appointment to American sees of Irish ecclesiastics, who, whatever their personal merits, were strangers here and subjects of the British Crown, aroused the resentment of Archbishop Ambrose Maréchal of Baltimore, as it had irritated Archbishop Carroll before him. On the other hand, from the circumstance that during the next decade or two the majority of bishops in the United States were French missionaries—exemplary men in every instance and persuaded against their wishes to accept the burden—a false impression grew that an attempt was being made to saddle a French episcopate upon the American Church.²¹

An act passed in 1813 by the State Legislature was the background of the trouble in New York. It placed control of the tem-

poralities of religious societies in the hands of the incorporating majority, independent of minister, priest, or bishop. As a consequence the incorporators could and did refuse salaries, support suspended priests, control monies, close churches, and invite and dismiss pastors. The legislation, which was intended for Protestant needs, naturally failed to meet the requirements of Catholic usage. The unfortunate but almost inevitable consequence was a struggle for domination between ecclesiastical authority and the trustees. Under the law the courts were obliged to support the trustees.

Since the single board of trustees for St. Peter's and St. Patrick's was unable or unwilling to place those churches on a secure financial basis, Bishop Connolly dissolved the joint board and the two churches were separately incorporated in April, 1817. He secured control of the cathedral by the election of a board loyal to himself, but his attempt to gain control of St. Peter's precipitated a quarrel which disturbed the New York Church until the advent of Bishop Hughes. To unravel the tangled skein of that story would take more space than may be given here and a bare outline must suffice.

Fathers Charles Ffrench, pastor of St. Peter's, and Thomas Carbry at the cathedral, both Dominicans, sided with the bishop, while ranged against them were the trustees of St. Peter's, the former Jesuit Father Malou, and the Irish-born convert Father William Taylor of the cathedral. There ensued a series of appeals and counter-appeals, pamphlets, and censures. The trustees of St. Peter's refused Father Ffrench his salary, threatened to deprive the bishop of his, and finally appealed to Archbishop Maréchal of Baltimore. The scandals had also been brought to the notice of the Congregation of the Propaganda at Rome. Those authorities enquired of Maréchal the state of affairs and appointed Bishop Plessis of Quebec to investigate. The latter reported on September 8, 1820:

Monsignor Connolly, a man noted for his knowledge and for the many virtues worthy of the episcopate, after having been for a long time blinded by Father Carbry, is now being led by another Irish Dominican named Charles Ffrench . . . and is assured that he has the support of the majority of his people in so doing. . . . But this majority

is composed of the Irish rabble . . . an ignorant and savage lot . . . the respectable Catholics . . . confuse the bishop with his favorite, speak of the bishop with very little respect and finally separate themselves from him.²²

Then, reading through all the documents on the case, Propaganda objected to the anti-Irish bias of both Maréchal and Plessis, but it also ordered Connolly to remove Fathers Taylor, Ffrench, and Malou. A measure of peace was restored but the unhappy old bishop was soon to pass from the scene. His scant resources had been overpowered by great obstacles. He did not lack firmness but the great wants of his diocese made him conform to a certain extent to the established order.²³ It was said that "More than once . . . his attitude on grave questions imperilled the safety and peace of the Church in his diocese."²⁴ Although his administration was not free of blame, it certainly was not disastrous to religious progress.²⁵ He strengthened the feeble Catholic school system, provided for the orphans, established parishes, secured more priests, introduced the Sisters of Charity into the diocese, and dedicated the first Catholic church on Long Island.

Fragments of Bishop Connolly's diary, begun as procurator for his community, years before in Rome, reveal something of his charity and poverty and his zeal toward the immigrants and the poor. A few Mass intentions therein recorded—14 from Irish persons, 7 from French, 4 from "Blacks," 3 from English, and 1 each from a German, an Italian, a Scotchman, a Dutchman, and a Yankee—may indicate the composition, lack of affluence, and piety of his flock. The name of Father Farnan, who was to become Brooklyn's first pastor, is introduced into the diary under the date of January 2, 1819, as receiving 15 Mass stipends from the bishop. On April 1, 1819, a Mrs. Horne of Jamaica gave a \$2.00 offering for 12 Masses for her deceased husband. On January 7, 1820, the bishop "got 5: from the Brooklin man."²⁶

Worn out by labors and anxieties, John Connolly died on February 6, 1825, at his residence, 512 Broadway. Of the obsequies, a contemporary account states:

The remains of the pious, worthy and venerable Bishop Connolly were entombed yesterday afternoon, attended by a larger concourse of people than is usual on such occasions. For the last two days the body

of this good man lay in state in the central aisle of St. Peter's Church in Barclay Street and it is said that not less than 30,000 persons visited this novel exhibition. Everything connected with this ceremony was conducted in a most solemn, appropriate manner and reflects much credit on the Catholics of our City.²⁷

As the city of New York slowly began to wrest commercial preeminence from the other seaboard cities, the new diocese of New York increased both in number and organization of the Faithful. A small but integral part of its flock was the growing number of Catholics who dwelt across the East River in Brooklyn.

In 1790 only 1,603 people lived in Brooklyn Township, which was composed of the small hamlets lying in an arc formed by the Ferry, the Wallabout, Cripplebush, Bedford, Gowanus, and Red Hook, with the Brooklyn settlement near its center. The rest of Kings County had 2,892 residents, while Queens had 16,014 and Suffolk 16,440. Thereafter, a significant trend set in, with the arrival of some of the Irish "rebels" of 1798, for by 1800 the township had doubled to 3,298, whereas the rest of Long Island showed little growth. Partly as a result of this increment, the mile-square village of Brooklyn was organized on April 2, 1801. It was bounded by the East River, present Atlantic Avenue, and Red Hook Lane, which ran from Atlantic Avenue and Court Street to Wallabout Bay. Its geographical center was Adams and Nassau Streets, 150 yards northwest of the site of the future Church of St. James.

The State Legislature took cognizance of the rapidly growing village and incorporated it on April 12, 1816. By 1825 the village had 8,800 residents. The township, which included it, numbered 10,791 inhabitants and was then the third largest in the state. The growth had brought the whole Kings County population to 14,679. That year also old Queens County listed 20,331 inhabitants and Suffolk, 23,695.²⁸

From the village emanated the political, economic, social, and religious movements of the county. The details of village life were typical of conditions then prevailing in similar American communities along the Eastern seaboard. The village and town had the usual complement of public officials: trustees, assessors, constables, justices, superintendents, collectors, and a health physician. The government of Brooklyn Village cost \$1,878.65 from May,

1821, to June, 1822. Something of the customs and conditions of the period were reflected in the schedule of fines levied for various offenses. It cost the unwary citizen \$5.00 to drive his horse faster than five miles an hour. He forfeited \$2.00 if he refused to fight a fire when so ordered. Sabbath "sporting" cost \$1.00. Fines for letting livestock roam the village streets were graded according to the size of the animal involved: from 25 cents for a sheep to \$5.00 for a bull. Clearing the unpaved and generally unlighted streets of garbage posed a perennial problem.²⁹

The latest construction boom had, between 1821 and 1825, increased the number of houses in the village from 867 to 1,025. They were generally of frame and painted white.³⁰ A dozen stately dwellings stood on aristocratic Columbia Heights. Buildings were thickest at the ferry with its taverns, markets, and stables, and their attendant odors. From that point houses thinned out along the Old Ferry Road or Fulton Street to the present Borough Hall. Beyond that only 56 dwellings were counted among the farm lands bordering Jamaica Turnpike to the town line at Bedford. Stages trundled along this dusty, rutted pike to Jamaica and Hempstead, and, weekly, to remote Sag Harbor, while others branched off through Flatbush to Bath. From the ferry a stage ran also over Wallabout Causeway to Flushing.³¹

Ferry service to New York was doubled in 1795 by the opening of the new or Main Street ferry. The flat scows were rowed and sailed, then horses on treadmills furnished the power, until the first steam-ferry appeared on May 19, 1814. No fare was charged for such small articles as a woman carried in her apron or a man or boy in his hands.³²

When Bishop Plessis arrived at New York in September, 1815, on the steamer *Fulton* from New Haven, he saw Brooklyn as "a sort of market town from which two ferry boats worked by steam . . . go and come from morning till evening, without interruption, always laden with quantities of people and vehicles."³³ The ferry facilities induced hundreds of New York businessmen to reside in Brooklyn, a pleasant summer residence with a delightful sea breeze.³⁴

Wealth, first held in land and livestock, came to be invested also in the industry, manufacture, and commerce that characterize

much of Brooklyn and Queens today. The Dutch generally preferred the farm to the village and showed little communal feeling. The Yankees became manufacturers, merchants, distillers, speculators, and shipping men. In January, 1824, Brooklyn listed the community's assets and petitioned the Legislature for a savings bank. They were considerable enough to warrant affirmative action.³⁵

The War for Independence was fresh in men's minds and a strong current of patriotic feeling ran through village life. The Irish were not hesitant to show their patriotism. The Hibernian Sons, with the Hibernian Provident Society, formed one of the divisions that marched on April 13, 1808, to the cornerstone laying of the tomb of the prison ship martyrs, which monument was located near the Navy Yard. When the War of 1812 opened, the Irish readily enlisted³⁶ and when a second battle of Long Island threatened, "1200 of the patriotic Sons of Erin worked on Fort Green[e] . . . and were distinguished by uncommon and well directed industry."³⁷ Directing them was Patrick McCloskey, whose son John, born nearby in 1810, was destined to become the first American cardinal. McCloskey and his wife, Elizabeth Harron, had settled in Brooklyn in 1808 and he became overseer at H. B. Pierrepont's distillery. A half-dozen Brooklyn addresses are given as the birthplace of John, but it was probably near the foot of Pierrepont Street. The young lad attended the school of Mrs. Charlotte Melmoth, an English convert actress. The school was located in Red Hook Lane (on present Carroll between Clinton and Henry Streets). The McCloskeys moved to Murray Street, New York, between 1817 and 1820.³⁸

With the end of the War of 1812 there was double reason for recurring festive celebrations of the Fourth of July with their parades, reading of the Declaration of Independence, patriotic orations, and evening fireworks. The Irish celebrated the day as enthusiastically as they did March 17. Of the Independence Day celebration of 1824 we read that the Hibernian Provident Society of Brooklyn took seventh place in the procession with a

band of appropriate music and bearing an elegant harp and banners with inscriptions. Its object . . . is . . . to aid the stranger on our shores, and give consolation to the children of distress. Every heart must

respond to this and cordially wish this young institution every prosperity.³⁹

In the celebration that day also was the Erin Fraternal Association, which had been organized in 1823 by George L. Birch, postmaster and a Limerick-born Methodist, and George S. Wise, Jr., a Catholic and its first president.⁴⁰ It had a long and interesting career.

Much of the social and cultural life of the village centered in the taverns and "long rooms."⁴¹ In such places of public assemblage travelling showmen fascinated and instructed the population with, for instance, experiments "imitating the electric fluid, lightning" or they amazed the villagers by exhibiting "a living elephant."⁴² The long room of Daniel Dempsey's Blooming Grove Garden at 216 Fulton Street, which would prove very useful to the infant congregation of St. James', offered some scenes of Le Claire's "Phantasmagoria or Optical Illusions" from Paris, music, and fireworks. Here, too, was offered a performance of patriotic and comic songs and recitations—"Hours of chaste wit, good songs and pure sentiment"—and here Mr. Berault's dancing school assembled Friday and Saturday afternoons and held a fortnightly ball.⁴³ Biddy Stevenson's tavern admitted for 12½ cents both lady and gentleman to hear such discussions as "Does Nature Contribute More Than Art to the Formation of the Orator?" and again, "Ought Duties on Foreign Importation be Increased for the Purpose of Protecting Domestic Manufactures?" More robust pleasure-seekers could chase deer and fox released at Howard's Half-Way House on Jamaica Turnpike.⁴⁴

More formal educational opportunities were offered by private schools, of which a number were conducted in Brooklyn and elsewhere by Irish schoolmasters.⁴⁵ Language classes were popular and were taught generally by Frenchmen, some of whom also may have been practising Catholics.⁴⁶ Joseph Coppinger, who conducted a clothing and book store, nevertheless found time also to preside over a select school for a dozen boys in his Main Street home. He was careful to state that the store business "will go on without prejudice to the school. There will be no interference with religious opinions."⁴⁷

In 1814 the Common School Act introduced the novel idea of

compulsory education at taxpayers' expense. Two years later the first public school opened in the printing office of Thomas Kirk, an Irish Methodist, on Adams near Sands Street. The poor were admitted free but some 30 children paid \$1.35 per quarter. Neither children nor parents took very kindly to juvenile education, for in 1824 only 200 school age children frequented the public schools, 957 attended private schools, and over 500 were untaught.⁴⁸

Education received some impetus also from the Brooklyn Circulating Library, which had 900 volumes in 1821. Two years later the Apprentice Free Library Association was organized with 180 members.⁴⁹ The book stores and lending libraries of the publishers likewise increased the fund of knowledge. Coppinger's store advertised the first Catholic book published in Barclay Street, which thoroughfare later became the center of the Catholic publishing business. He advertised it as follows:

. . . a new and highly interesting publication entitled 'Catholic Doctrine and Catholic Principles Carefully but fully explained, with an account of the conversion of the Dutchess of York. . . Also an account of the conversion of Mr. Michael Ramsay to the same Church, by Archbishop Fenelon, as given by Ramsay.' This little work it is hoped will be read with interest, and contribute to remove some of the prejudices so generally prevailing against the Catholic Church in this Country. Price in boards 50 cents.⁵⁰

The printers George L. Birch, Thomas Kirk, and Alden Spooner also published Catholic volumes, advertised them in their newspapers, and sold them in their book stores.⁵¹

Kirk in 1799 began printing Brooklyn's first paper, the *Courier and Long Island Advertiser*. In 1803 he suspended it and got out two volumes of sermons by Jean Massillon, bishop of Clermont, and in 1805 he printed a New Testament for Bernard Dornin, New York's first Catholic book publisher. In 1809 Kirk also published the following book:

An Enquiry into the Fundamental Principles of the Roman Catholics; in a Letter addressed to Mr. John Richards, formerly a Preacher in the Methodist Connexion, But who lately embraced the Tenets and joined the Church of Rome. To which is added, An essay on the beauty and excellency of True Religion.

The book disputed infallibility, images, transubstantiation, prayers to saints, and clerical celibacy. One excerpt sufficed to show its spirit: "In Canada our driver prayed before a calvary (an abomination, hated by God) and later blasphemed. . . . If the apostles ate Christ, how could he have been crucified?" This sort of thing takes 47 pages and "the beauty and excellency of True Religion" takes 25 more.⁵²

In 1809 Kirk began the *Long Island Star*. It carried advertisements of Mathew Carey's *Douay Bible*, offered in some three dozen different editions, and about two dozen other Catholic books.⁵³ Two years later Kirk sold the *Star* to Alden Spooner,⁵⁴ a Presbyterian Whig. Like his *Suffolk Gazette*, Spooner's *Star* had little local news at first but its later issues are a valuable historical source. Also like the *Gazette*, the *Star* was to prove anti-Irish and anti-Catholic, but it continued to carry advertisements for Carey's and two dozen other Catholic volumes, devotional, historical, scriptural, and apologetic.⁵⁵

Humanitarian impulses were still feeble in the young village. In 1810 a slave woman and child sold for 60 pounds, although most local slaves were free citizens before the emancipation of 1827.⁵⁶ For years to come, indenture was a common form of disposing of almshouse children. A step forward was taken in 1808 when the town voted to build a poorhouse. A 20-acre poor farm was bought near Fort Greene in 1824 and in 1830 the county poor farm at Flatbush succeeded it. In March, 1816, there were 23 poorhouse inmates. The year ending March, 1825, recorded 67 as having been received, 41 discharged, and 19 as having died. The year before, poor expenses had been \$3,469.⁵⁷ Likewise, some attention began to be paid to public health. In 1816 free vaccination was offered and during the next year an Assistant Society was formed to relieve the sick and advise the poor. The Kings County Medical Society was organized during the yellow fever outbreak of 1822 and two years later the village Board of Health was incorporated.⁵⁸

Bible and tract societies, revivals, and discussions at the Lyceum kept the village in a ferment. The Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality, begun in 1815, favored legislation forbidding work, travel, and sporting on Sunday.⁵⁹ The Sunday school

idea, begun by Mathew Carey in Philadelphia in 1791, came to Brooklyn in 1815, when John Murphy and the Irish-born Methodist, Robert Snow, began one for 100 slaves of all ages. In 1816 Snow started one for whites at Kirk's office. By 1822 each sect held class on its own premises. Professedly non-sectarian, these men taught Protestantism and gave some secular instruction to working children. Anyone who doubted the need of such schools was advised:

Draw near to such an evening collection of boys, and . . . listen to the peals of horrid oaths and imprecations belched forth by them . . . the hair of his head will almost stand on end, and his heart within him will be nearly petrified with horror.⁶⁰

Temperance crusading became a new evangel. Among the 867 Brooklyn buildings in 1821 were 96 taverns or groceries selling liquor. The Irish were unfairly blamed for the situation, for as early as 1800 the state had more breweries and distilleries than grist mills.⁶¹

The Protestant Churches, as well as the press, exerted considerable influence in the expanding village life. In the year 1822 three rivals appeared to the older Dutch Reformed, Episcopalian, and Methodist congregations. They were the Roman Catholics, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians.⁶² The last-named congregation became very influential, composed as it was of the middle class and well-to-do merchants and politicians. They combined a waning Puritanism with aggressive material aims. Their leadership supplanted that of the others.⁶³ Small Jewish groups also appeared in Jamaica and in Brooklyn in 1822.⁶⁴

But it is the fortunes and the religion of a non-Protestant group of that time that hold the greatest interest for us. The Irish and especially the Catholic Irish, references to whose presence became more frequent, are our main concern. Some years previously, the *New York and Brooklyn Directory and Register for the Year 1796* was published by John Buell and John Bull, New York. It was "apparently the work of a canvasser who went up the Old Road [Fulton Street] and down New Ferry Street [Main Street] gathering the names only of those persons living on or between the two streets." ⁶⁵ It contained the names of 125 persons living on lower Fulton and Main Streets, of whom nearly a score were Celtic, some

of them probably Catholic. Four of the men kept taverns or stores, the rest were liverymen and journeymen; of four women listed, one taught school, another did washing. Eight years before this census, Joshua Sands and John Jackson laid out a few streets on Wallabout Bay and called the site Olympia. Nearby, Sands had a ropewalk and Jackson began a shipyard which turned out the frigate *Adams* in 1799. Two years later Jackson sold the yard to the Federal Government for the Brooklyn Navy Yard. Some of the Irish "rebels" of 1798 bought land in the new development, with its high points or hills named after some of the late Irish battle-grounds.⁶⁶ The Irish colony thus formed spread through Brooklyn and Long Island.

The *Assessment Book of the Town of Brooklyn, May and June 1810*, listed some 800 persons possessing property, of whom 40 bore Irish names. Real estate ranging in value from \$2,500 to \$500 was owned by 16 of these Celts, while the personal estates of the other 24 varied in value from \$100 to \$25. Real estate transactions involving Irishmen were frequently reported.⁶⁷ Persons with Irish names also formed a considerable number of yellow fever victims,⁶⁸ while the proportion of unclaimed letters at the Brooklyn Post Office for still other such persons was considerable.⁶⁹

Spooner's *Brooklyn Directory* of 1822, published on May 23, listed under the title, "All the Householders," some 1,100 names, of which 10 per cent were Irish. His next *Directory*, published on June 2, 1823, listed 1,250 "householders," of whom about 150 or 12 per cent were evidently Irish. The majority were laborers and mechanics. Presuming that the householders represented accurately the village populations of approximately 6,676 in 1822 and 7,364 in 1823, one may conclude that the village Celts numbered respectively 667 and 883 in those two years. The probability that not all persons with Irish patronymics were Catholic may be balanced by the likelihood that not all the Irish were householders and that some householders whose names were not Irish were, nevertheless, Catholics. Confirmation is given to this speculation by the Catholic *Laity's Directory* of 1822 which estimated upwards of 20,000 Catholics in the diocese of New York. It is not unreasonable to presume that at least four per cent of them, or 800, lived in Brooklyn Village. Additional information is offered by

the Interment Records, St. James' Cemetery, I. That volume recorded money received for burying the bodies of 44 persons possessing Irish names between September 29, 1823, and December 19, 1824. Even if this annual average of 35.9 burials represented deaths of all Catholic Long Islanders and if the Catholic death rate was 35.9 per thousand—high even in those days—we arrive at a Long Island Catholic population of 1,000 for the period.⁷⁰

The Catholic Irish had come largely from the North of Ireland.⁷¹ Although their nearest church lay across the East River, they did not attend the Protestant churches in Brooklyn, as appears from the records of those denominations.⁷² They preferred to travel by ferry to Sunday Mass at St. Peter's or St. Patrick's in New York. Doubtless for some time now, they had been talking of a church of their own in Brooklyn, one even more imposing than the churches of their Protestant neighbors.

CATHOLICISM IS ORGANIZED ON LONG ISLAND

THE PRECISE DATE of the first Mass in Brooklyn is not known. It is said to have taken place in a time-worn, three-story and basement building that still stands on the corner of York and Gold Streets, next door to the Church of St. George and a short two-block distance from the United States Navy Yard. The event is noted in a manuscript entitled "Statistics of St. James Church"; these were culled from the Trustees' Record Book.¹ The document states that "Revd. Mr. Laracey celebrated the first Mass at the residence of Mr. Purcell, N.E. corner of York and Gold Street."

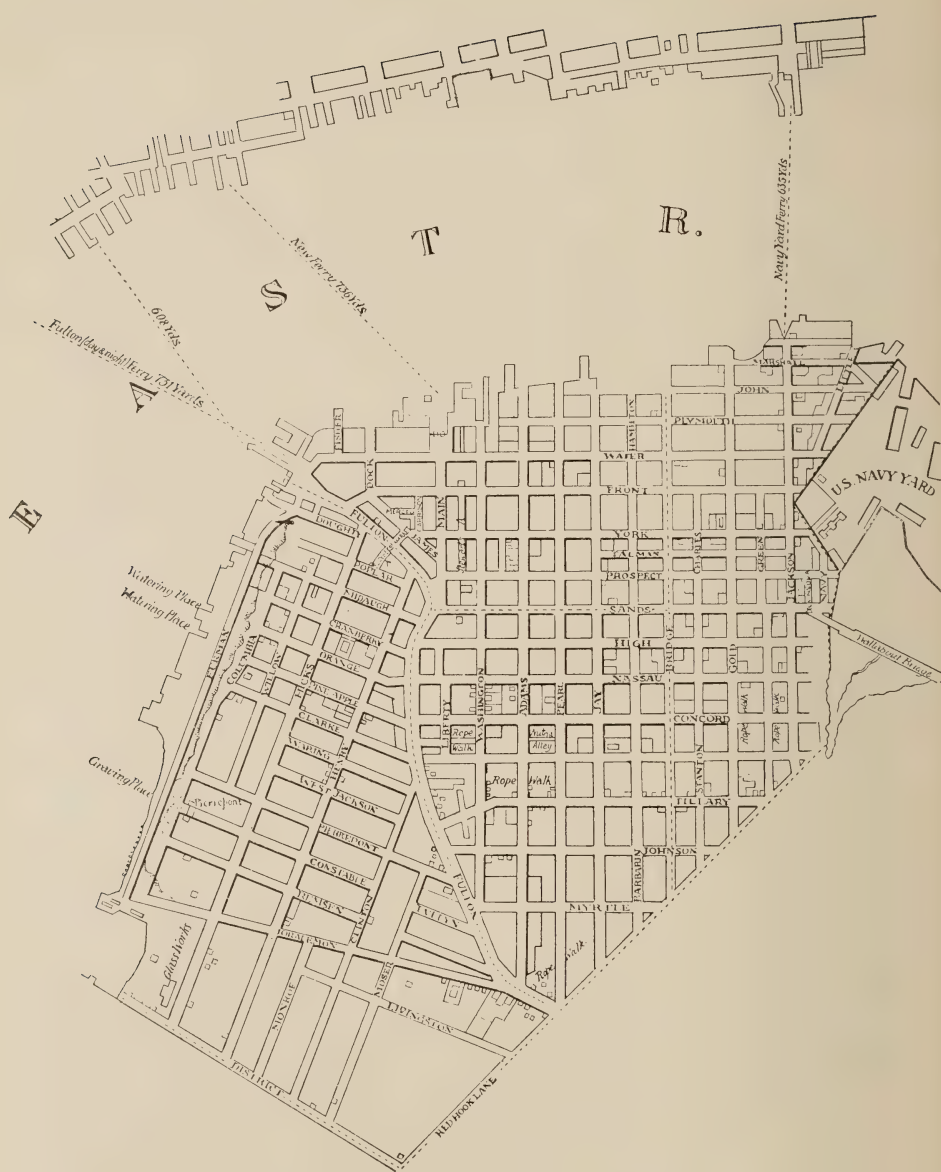
It is possible that Father John Power of St. Peter's Church, whom the "Statistics" calls "our first friend," said a prior Mass at another location some time after reaching New York in 1819. It is possible, too, that a still earlier Mass was celebrated in Brooklyn on those rare occasions during the preceding two centuries when priests are known to have visited Long Island.

We have already met Dr. Power (1792-1849) who was ordained at Maynooth about 1818, and we shall meet him again. He became pastor of St. Peter's in New York and vicar general of the diocese. An able champion of the Faith, his last days were clouded with misunderstandings with Bishops Dubois and Hughes.²

The reference in the "Statistics" to Father Philip Lariscy, O.S.A. (1784-1824), is all we know about his Brooklyn labors. An Augustinian who studied in Waterford and Cork, Ireland, he became a typical wandering missionary. He left Newfoundland and



The William Purcell House.
Probable Site of the First Mass in Brooklyn



Brooklyn Village in 1827

Nova Scotia in 1816 or earlier and was active in New Bedford and Boston. Bishop John Lefevre de Cheverus of the latter city thought highly of Lariscy but was forced to choose between him and his uncontrolled temper and Father Taylor of the French faction, who had come up from New York and whose relations with Lariscy had become strained. So Lariscy left for New York in 1821, probably in July, and there he labored along the Hudson and about Staten Island and Paterson, New Jersey, until December, 1822, when he left for Philadelphia. There he fell in with the Hogan schism and died 16 months later.³

It would seem from the foregoing that the date of the first Mass may be set between late July and late December of the year 1821.⁴ But whatever the truth of the matter may be, the desire of the Brooklyn Catholics for a church of their own crystallized at about that time, for on New Year's Day, 1822, Peter Turner took a sheet of foolscap paper and addressed in clear handwriting a circular to William Purcell, James McLaughlin, and several other Catholic inhabitants of the village. It read:

Whatever we do in word or in work, let us do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ: giving thanks to God the Father through him.

Therefore, in the name of the Lord,—and with the advice and consent of the Right Revd. Bishop, Let the Catholics of Brooklyn having common Interests to pursue, and wants to relieve, establish an Association the Better to attain these desirable objects.

In the first place, we want our children instructed in the principles of our Holy Religion, we want more convenience in hearing the Word of God ourselves.

In fact we want a Church, a Pastor, and a place for Interment:—all of which with the assistance of Divine Providence, we have every reason to expect by forming ourselves into a well regulated Society:—and as we have not only cheerfully assisted in Building the Churches in this Diocese, from time to time, but nearly all the Churches in the United States lately erected, we have every reason to expect the Cheerful assistance of the Laity, as well as the Right Revd. the Bishop and all his clergy.⁵

The effect of Turner's circular was immediate, for in the course of the week a general meeting was proposed, to take place at Purcell's tavern. The meeting was held on January 7 and Purcell was chosen chairman and Turner secretary. Constitution and by-laws were agreed upon, and it was resolved that a committee of

five wait upon Bishop Connolly to inform him of the proceedings and ask his advice and consent to their undertaking. The meeting was adjourned with a resolution "to meet at Daniel Dempsey's of the Blooming Grove Garden, Fulton Street opposite Clinton on the 14th inst." ⁶ How many met at Purcell's and later at Dempsey's is not known, but at Dempsey's place they formally organized the Roman Catholic Society.

A "careful census" taken early in 1822 revealed only 70 members able to contribute labor or money.⁷ They were probably heads of families. Further publicity undoubtedly enlisted support from other Brooklyn Catholics. Those who became active parishioners were generally in modest circumstances but they were not poverty-stricken immigrants. Six were grocers, four kept taverns, three were laborers, two were boatmen, and four others, including a purser and a doctor-surgeon, were employed at the Navy Yard. Included also was one each of the following: horticulturist, engineer, schoolmaster, teacher, stevedore, pleasure-garden proprietor, shoemaker, distiller, cooper, furrier, peddler, carpenter, builder, and proprietor of a confectionery store.⁸ Some of these persons became prominent and a few deserve mention.

Of the several listed by the name of McLaughlin, Hugh became most prominent. He arrived in 1810, helped build the Fort Greene defenses in 1814, and became interested in politics. His son, Hugh, born in 1825, controlled the Brooklyn Democratic machine during the last half of the century.⁹ William Purcell, whose "long room" was the scene of the first Mass, worked in the Navy Yard.¹⁰ James Furey, a furrier, lived on York Street. His son John became a commander in the Navy and was instrumental in having Mass regularly celebrated in the Navy Yard and in the appointment of the first Catholic Navy-chaplain.¹¹ George McCloskey, a dairy farmer, of New District Street (Atlantic Avenue), and his wife, Mary, had five sons, three of whom became priests, one of them the bishop of Louisville.¹²

Dr. Quentin M. Sullivan, born in New York City in 1801, studied medicine in Montreal. Several of his sisters contracted mixed marriages and their descendants, among prominent Brooklyn families, are Protestants. Such a one, Dr. John Sullivan Thorne, born in New York in 1807, was brought up an Episco-

palian. He moved to Sands Street and was prominent in civic life, being president of the Board of Education from 1868 to 1870. He was active in the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society and, until his death in 1880, was both friend and physician to Bishop Loughlin.¹³

Captain George S. Wise, Jr., was born in 1789 in Maryland of Irish descent. He became a purser in the Navy at the age of 21 and in 1813 was assigned to the Navy Yard. His wife was an active Episcopalian. Wise became trustee of the village from 1822 to 1823 and was a member of Hohenlinden Masonic Lodge, 338. He was first president of the Erin Fraternal Association and of the Roman Catholic Society.¹⁴ He died on November 20, 1824, as the "Statistics" observed, "universally lamented. He was continually assisting us, had a benevolent heart, and was attended in his last moments by Dr. Power, and died, it is hoped, a good Catholic." The curious ending of the last sentence is explained by his obituary notice which read: "... On Sunday he was buried with military and Masonic honors, attended also by the Erin Fraternal Association of which he was president, and by a vast concourse of citizens."¹⁵ Strangely, the "liberal" views and helpfulness of Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur in founding St. Peter's in New York were paralleled by Wise at St. James'.¹⁶

Peter Turner was the foremost of all the founders of St. James'. He was born in Wexford in 1787 and settled in Brooklyn about 1800. He married Dublin-born Margaret Carney and had three children: John F. (1828 or 1829-1877) became pastor of St. James' and vicar general; Frank G. (1830-1891), a builder, married Sarah Keely, daughter of the famous architect; and Catherine, who died in 1880. Turner opened a grocery store at 59 Front Street but shortly thereafter was employed as foreman of a gun-carriage factory in the Navy Yard, where he patented a gun carriage. Turner was just the kind of energetic man needed to organize St. James' parish. For many years he was one of its trustees, besides being president of the Orphan Asylum Society, the Erin Fraternal Association, the Emerald Association, and the Brooklyn Benevolent Society. He died at his residence, 120 North Portland Avenue, on December 31, 1862, and was followed by his wife in 1869. Turner's portrait as well as his bronze bust, which was un-

veiled in 1895 at the northeast corner of St. James' Cemetery by his grandchildren, Margaret and Sarah Turner, shows a large head, deep-set eyes, high forehead, large Roman nose, smooth-shaven cheeks, and strong mouth. He wore a high collar touching his ears and disappearing at his throat and the wide bow necktie of the 1850's.¹⁷

The meeting scheduled for January 14, 1822, took place in the "long room" of Daniel Dempsey's Blooming Grove Garden. The establishment was a two-story frame roadhouse or hotel located at No. 216 on the east side of Fulton Street, north of present Clark Street. An Episcopalian cemetery adjoined it on the north; to the east, Martin's ropewalk extended to Wallabout Meadows; and an open field lay on the south.¹⁸ Dempsey's establishment was generally used by the infant congregation as a place of worship and for meetings. To these events the Catholics were summoned by frequent advertisements in the *Star* and the *Patriot*. Business meetings were announced for Turner's house on March 2 and for Dempsey's place on March 22, "at early candlelight." Punctual attendance was requested for the important business on hand. Through the long evenings much discussion would occur and, perhaps, refreshments would be served.¹⁹

The first Mass advertisement discovered reads: "The Rev. Mr. Powers of the Roman Catholic Church will perform Divine Service at Mr. Dempsey's Long Room in Fulton St. Bklyn. on Sunday [St. Patrick's Day] next at half past 10 A.M." ²⁰ Subsequent notices in the *Star* announced some, if not all, of the Masses celebrated at Dempsey's during the next few months by Fathers Power, Bulger, and O'Gorman, who came from New York for this purpose. No longer would the Brooklyn Catholics need to cross the East River and walk to St. Peter's for Sunday Mass. Dempsey lived just long enough to be immortalized, dying within the year. Then Cornelius Heeney, who owned the place, sold it on April 19, 1823.²¹ By that time the church had been roofed over and could be used both for Mass and for meetings.

Within two months of the issuance of Turner's circular, enough money had been collected to buy land for a church. Again Heeney stepped forward and offered an acre of land free at Court and Congress Streets, but it was declined as being too remote.²² Instead,

on March 1, 1822, the seven officers and trustees of the Roman Catholic Society of an unnamed "Church in the Village of Brooklyn" purchased eight adjacent lots in the fourth district for the total sum of \$800.²³

Joseph Moser, carpenter, and Rachel his wife conveyed four lots each 25 by 100 feet, and forming the southeast corner of Jay and Chapel Streets, for \$400; Samuel James, ropemaker, and Clarissa his wife conveyed for \$400 four equal-sized lots extending east on Chapel Street. The entire piece of land ran 200 feet east along Chapel Street and 100 feet south on Jay Street.²⁴ At the time of the sale two parallel ropewalks owned by Joshua and Henry Sands lay just south of the property. They cut across Jay Street in strips each about 80 feet wide and extended about 1,500 feet to the corner of Fulton and Bridge Streets.²⁵ There was no building nearer the church property "than High Street, and not a single building between the site of the church and the meadows of Wallaboght mill-pond." ²⁶

Bishop Connolly chose the feast of St. Mark to bless the ground. The event was heralded by a last-minute notice in the *Star*, on April 25, 1822, stating:

The ground of the ROMAN CATHOLIC SOCIETY of the Town of Brooklyn will be consecrated this day between the hours of 10 and 12 o'clock A.M.—Punctual attendance of all the members of the ROMAN CATHOLIC SOCIETY is respectfully requested.

By order of the President,
Peter Turner, Secretary

Brooklyn, April 25

One can glean something of the memorable scene from the account of an eyewitness, Gabriel Furman:

April 25, a warm day. . . . In the morning about 11 o'clock I went to see the Roman Catholic Church Yard of the Village (Brooklyn) consecrated—The ceremony was performed by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Connolly and two priests—one of the priests [Father Richard Bulger] delivered a handsome address, very appropos to the occasion—His only fault was he could not pronounce the letter 'H.' He utterly denied that the worship of images, and buying the remission of sins of the priests, were tenets of the Roman Catholic belief—Saw a great many pretty faces.²⁷

Alden Spooner also noted "the presence of a large concourse of respectful and attentive auditors" and concluded: "Our country

is happily blessed with proper feelings on the subject of religious toleration. But we do not yet 'banish from the land a *political* intolerance, as despotic as wicked.' " ²⁸

The ground blessed, no time was lost in securing a competent architect for the church. To this end, an invitation was extended by the Roman Catholic Society to the "mechanics of Brooklyn" to submit anonymously by May 10 a plan for a building no larger than 63 feet long and 42 feet wide. The society promised a premium of a silver cup for the best plan.²⁹ Meanwhile, the property was enclosed by "a handsome fence" and some building materials were on hand. It was hoped to complete the building that year.³⁰

On July 4 the building committee, composed of Wise, Turner, Purcell, Quentin Sullivan, and James Rose, announced that the plans of John F. Walton had been accepted. They further stated:

... arrangements [have been made] to lay the foundation of the church . . . the greatest portion of the materials have been contracted for, a part of which are now on the ground—the land is paid for and fenced in—about two thousand dollars in hand, and more than two thousand dollars subscribed which will soon be collected. We therefore entertain the hope, ere six month elapse, the church will be completed. Though we are short of the sum to build the church, yet we can and do confidently rely on the well-known liberality of the inhabitants of Brooklyn and New-York.³¹

Three weeks later, on Thursday morning, July 25, the feast of St. James the Greater, Bishop Connolly laid the cornerstone.³² The *Star* devoted an editorial and a half-column news article to the ceremony, recording the presence of the bishop "and a numerous and respectable assemblage of spectators. A sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Bulger, after which a collection was made to aid the funds of the church, which far exceeded the most sanguine expectations." After the ceremonies were concluded, Wise spoke and presented Walton with the cup.³³

If building operations had begun promptly, they proceeded slowly because of the slender resources available and the absence of a resident clergyman. Those unable to contribute money "would spend several hours of the evening laboring upon the new edifice."³⁴ But this did not suffice and appeals were made for funds through newspaper notices and meetings and by door-to-

door collections. It was not until June 10, 1823, however, after the lapse of more than a year, that the trustees could inform the bishop that "the Church was ready for Consecration as far as we are able to make it so."³⁵

Finally, the bishop could engage to come. The trustees therefore published an invitation to the ceremony and suggested that "Persons disposed to aid the funds for the completion of the Church will have an opportunity of contributing thereto. Members of all religious denominations are respectfully invited to attend."³⁶ Then once again, the second bishop of New York took the ferry to Brooklyn and, assisted by Father Power, dedicated the building on August 28, 1823, the feast of St. Augustine.³⁷

Reporter Furman noted some details of the day:

Morning early and clear and pleasant, but rather damp—remainder of the day clear, and very warm—Thermometer at a quarter past 7 P.M. 82—At sunset several heavy showery clouds rose in the west but we had no rain—The roads are very dusty. Wind Southwest—This morning St. James Roman Catholic Church in this village, consecrated by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Connelly—It is the first Roman Catholic Church erected on Long Island.³⁸

It was the sixth Catholic church in New York State and the third within the limits of the present city of New York.³⁹

After the ceremony the trustees used the columns of the *Star* for the following purpose:

... to offer their grateful acknowledgement to the Rev. Mr. Power, of St. Peter's Church, New-York, not only for the able and excellent sermon which he delivered on the day of the consecration of our Church (which was duly appreciated and acknowledged by the immense concourse of people of all denominations who attended), but for his uniform and steady zeal in vieing with the other Rev. clergy in the furtherance of the views and lasting interests of this Congregation. By order of the Trustees.⁴⁰

When completed, the church stood about 30 feet back from Jay Street. It was a modest brick structure with four Gothic windows on each side. The building had one front door and no tower. The inside walls were unfinished. Spooner and Furman referred to it as "handsome," "pure Gothic," and "nearer Gothic than any other building in town."⁴¹

Before the purchase of the St. James' property, Catholics of Brooklyn and Long Island had buried their dead in the churchyards of St. Peter's and St. Patrick's in New York. Some were also buried in the local public and denominational cemeteries.⁴² With the blessing of the property in 1822 the congregation had secured the "place for Interment" pleaded for in Turner's circular. Their burial plot lay about the little church and by September 19, 1823, it was levelled and fenced.

The "Statistics" inform us also that during the week previous, J. Mehaney had been appointed caretaker as well as sexton and schoolmaster. Upon Father James McKenna's death in 1824, a section of the graveyard was reserved for the clergy. The old records reveal the fact that a surprising number died in their 20's and 30's. The bodies of some were brought from distant Harlem, Babylon, Flushing, Flatbush, Bedloe's Island, and Fort Diamond. The fees charged ranged from \$1.00 to \$6.00 and a number were buried free. Plots four by seven feet were later offered for \$30.⁴³ Other cemetery regulations appeared in the prohibition to bury without giving due notice to the sexton or trustees,⁴⁴ and the charge of \$20 for the erection of headstones. When the first burial was made is not known.⁴⁵ Sculpture, interesting verse, and religious sentiments were carved on the stones, but only a few remain today and fewer are decipherable.

The first Catholic school on Long Island may also be traced to Peter Turner, who had written in his circular, "In the first place we want our children instructed in the principles of our Holy Religion." The church basement now furnished room for the first school, and J. Mehaney, the sexton and cemetery caretaker, was appointed master when school opened on September 12, 1823. Mehaney died four years later but John Murray had already succeeded to his threefold office on February 20, 1825, at an annual salary of \$60. A Sunday school was established on August 2, 1824.⁴⁶

Probably with the advice of the bishop and visiting priests, the trustees had been conducting parish temporalities, for we read: "The male persons worshipping in the house at 216 Fulton Street met there November 20, 1822, and voted to incorporate . . ." St. James' Roman Catholic Church. The trustees incorporating on December 31 were George S. Wise, Peter Turner, William Pur-

cell, D. Dawson, P. Scanlan, W. McLaughlin, and James Rose.⁴⁷ By September, 1823, over \$7,000 had been spent on the church and cemetery. At that time the church was insured and \$3,000 was borrowed to finish the interior. Pews, possibly just installed, were rented on October 4, 1824, for six months and it is recorded that Patrick Scanlan collected \$1.93 in the church on Sunday, April 3, 1825.⁴⁸ Although the first congregation was organized mainly through lay effort and priests were infrequent visitors, it is notable that there was never in Brooklyn, as there was elsewhere, any serious trustee trouble.

Unceasing efforts were made to secure a resident pastor. Within 37 months, of the seven ministers—bishop and priests—to the infant congregation, four died, two went elsewhere, and Father Power alone remained at St. Peter's.⁴⁹ From June, 1822, to April, 1825, the "Statistics" record a sad picture of sheep without a shepherd: "The building of the Church progressed slowly without the aid of a clergyman; unceasing application was made for one, but without effect." "June 10, 1823 the Bishop was again solicited for one." "August 13th, wrote to Boston with the consent of the Bishop for Rev. Mr. Burns." "February 13th, 1824, the Bishop was again solicited for a clergyman." "August 2d, 1824, a General Meeting took place in the Church . . . and a resolution proposed and passed unanimously to apply to the Archbishop [of Baltimore] to obtain a Clergyman." "January 10, 1825, Dr. Power kindly sent to Ireland for us for Rev. Mr. Duffy; that Rev. Gentleman did not come at that time, and the \$220.00 sent were returned to our Treasury." "April 17th⁵⁰ or thereabout Rev. John Farnan was stationed with us by Rev. Dr. Power, administrator, the Bishop having died, as the first resident Clergyman, and received \$600 a year and house rent free."

Brooklyn's first resident pastor, Father John Farnan, was born in Cavan, Ireland, in 1788. He was educated in France and was ordained in 1812 by the archbishop of Dublin. He came to New York, probably at the close of 1818, on the invitation of Bishop Connolly. On February 10, 1819, the latter gave "Rev. Mr. Farnan" such faculties for upstate New York as Father O'Gorman of Albany might suggest.⁵¹ Farnan's territory covered the present

dioceses of Central and Western New York, where the Erie Canal was being dug. It was a difficult mission.

He offered the first Mass in Utica on March 21, 1819, and dedicated St. John's Church there two years later. He ministered also in Carthage, Rochester, and Auburn. Some sort of trouble with the trustees led, unfortunately, to his suspension by the bishop on February 1, 1823. Thereafter, he seems to have remained upstate, perhaps visiting Canada.⁵² In April, 1824, he called upon Archbishop Maréchal of Baltimore and asked him to intercede for him with Bishop Connolly, who had suspended him, Farnan said, without giving the reason. In July he wrote reminding the archbishop of the matter and in October he asked for a copy of the archbishop's letter to Connolly.⁵³ His attempts at reinstatement were unavailing until after his bishop's death, whereupon Dr. Power, vicar general and administrator of New York, placed him in charge of St. James', Brooklyn. The following Sunday, April 24, the vicar general preached at St. James' at the 10:30 Mass, probably introducing Father Farnan. The tall and portly new pastor was a reputable preacher and the future of Catholicism on Long Island looked bright.⁵⁴

History tells us little about John Farnan's ministrations to his flock during his pastorate of four years. He lived at 34 and then at 159 Sands Street; at 88 and again at 137 Jay Street.⁵⁵ He is credited with having offered the first Mass in Flushing; he may have visited the few Catholics in Sag Harbor; and he is said to have collected funds from the Catholics at Fort Hamilton.⁵⁶ He conducted an unsuccessful campaign to add a vestibule and steeple to St. James' Church. The campaign is referred to in a small memorandum book which listed 135 pledgees, of whom 88 were entered as paid. All but a half-dozen subscribers were apparently heads of families.⁵⁷

Despite its own poverty, the charity of the young congregation toward extra-parochial needs, which Turner's circular had alleged, continued during Farnan's pastorate. On one gala occasion, on November 27, 1825, Bishop Fenwick of Boston officiated at St. James' as Bishop England preached and collected funds there for his seminary at Charleston, South Carolina.⁵⁸ On June 21,

1829, the congregation contributed \$225 for the orphanage on Prince Street, New York.⁵⁹

From his advent at St. James' Father Farnan identified himself with the Irish societies and the cause of Irish freedom. It is worthy of note also that the lively and convivial foreigners attracted to their gatherings a number of the prominent native Americans. On St. Patrick's Day, 1826, the Erin Fraternal Association marched with a band to St. James' Church and assisted at Mass at which the pastor preached. Of the sermon Spooner commented in his *Star*: "We were deprived of the satisfaction of hearing it, but we understand it conveyed an eloquent and instructive sketch of the patron saint, and comprised also a feeling and animated view of the relative duties of foreigners."⁶⁰ Then all adjourned to Dufflon's Gardens, now the site of the Hall of Records, for dinner presided over by the venerable Irishman, Robert Snow, a founder of Brooklyn Methodism. Songs and toasts followed. In 1827 Snow and Kirk were among those present.⁶¹ In 1829 Father Farnan again preached to the association and they dined at Sweeny's hotel with Peter Turner presiding.⁶²

The association participated enthusiastically also in Fourth of July celebrations, although Farnan's name did not appear in the accounts of these gatherings. The celebration of 1825 was memorable, for they marched with Masons, village officials, and Sunday school societies to the cornerstone laying of the Apprentices' Library at Henry and Cranberry Streets. Lafayette officiated at the ceremony. Although the Irish associations "were compelled to leave the ground before the collection was made, yet they generously contributed the sum of \$22.18 to the Apprentices' Library."⁶³ In 1826 they marched "with their splendid emblems, and a car, on which was a harp and a skillful player who touched the strings in a delicate style."⁶⁴ A week later they resolved at their meeting to memorialize the deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson by wearing crepe armbands.⁶⁵ In 1829 the association heard Kirk read the Declaration of Independence in Masonic Hall, New York.

Father Farnan was more active in the Friends of Ireland, formed on September 23, 1828, at the Exchange Coffee House in Brooklyn, and he became its president. His brother Eugene Farnan was

elected chairman⁶⁶ and he appointed a constitutional committee composed of himself and such prominent personages as George Birch, Peter Turner, John and Edward Murray, John Ridden, N. B. Morse, Ralph Malbone, Nathaniel Howland, William Agar, and Peter Firmin. Membership was granted to persons of any religion or race who paid \$1.00 down and a shilling monthly. In February, 1829, the funds raised were sent to Daniel O'Connell, accompanied by a letter written by the pastor of St. James'.⁶⁷ When partial political emancipation had been won by Ireland, Bishop Dubois, who in 1826 had become the third bishop of New York, signalized the victory by having a letter read in the churches of the diocese on Trinity Sunday, June 14, 1829, proclaiming a *Te Deum* on the octave and a diocesan collection for the Prince Street orphanage. The collection amounted to "nearly \$1,400, a very handsome sum for these hard times. The churches were crowded to excess."⁶⁸ St. James' Church contributed \$225 that day and its services prompted a visitor to write the *Star*, expressing gratitude to the trustees, who furnished strangers with seats, and delight at the performance of the Brooklyn Navy Yard band. "And no one could have heard the powerful and feeling discourse pronounced on the occasion by the Rev. Mr. Farnan, without contracting the enthusiasm. . . . Indeed, to conclude, in every department good arrangement and management were visible, the congregation was numerous and respectable."⁶⁹

Shortly after this happy occasion, Father Farnan announced for Sunday, July 19, a sermon on temperance, a popular subject with the reform element of the village.⁷⁰ But his usefulness to the congregation was ending. Bishop Dubois came to celebrate high Mass and to administer the sacrament of Confirmation, possibly for the first time on Long Island, at St. James' on Sunday, September 6, at 11 A.M.⁷¹ Shortly after, on September 19, 1829, he was obliged, unfortunately, to suspend Brooklyn's first pastor.⁷²

Father Farnan promptly went to Baltimore, where the First Provincial Council was then assembled. From the Indian Queen lodgings of that city he wrote on October 5 to Bishop Fenwick, promotor of the council, that Bishop Dubois had suspended him "for drunkenness" at vespers at St. James', Sunday, September 6, 1829. He was prepared to disprove the charge before the council

in session and he asked how he should proceed.⁷³ Farnan received no satisfaction but he refused to submit. He then conceived the idea of an independent church and began preaching the next year in the Apprentices' Library.⁷⁴ A faction backed him up in his insubordination and he proceeded to collect funds far and wide. Through political influence he secured an appointment as visitor to the United States Military Academy. This brought a protest from the *Truth Teller*:

The Catholic public throughout the United States will be astonished to hear that the Rev. John Farnan, formerly a Catholic priest of Brooklyn, Long Island, has been appointed one of the Board of Visitors of the U. S. Military Academy at West Point for this year!!! Did the Secretary of War intend to conciliate the Catholic public by this appointment? ⁷⁵

His ecclesiastical superiors, taking notice of his conduct, published the following:

Caution. The Irish laborers working on Canals and Railroads and Roman Catholics in general are hereby informed that the Rev. John Farnan, *late of Brooklyn, L.I.*, IS A SUSPENDED PRIEST, that, therefore, he has no right to exercise the functions of the sacred ministry; that with a knowledge of his condition they will sin grievously by hearing his Mass or receiving the sacraments at his hands, they are also informed that this notice is given to put a stop to Sacrilege and lawless plundering *under pretense* of raising a Catholic Church, schoolhouse, etc. John Power, Vicar General of the State of New York. Felix Varela, Vicar General.⁷⁶

To the above warning repeated in the *Truth Teller* of July 16, 1831, and weekly thereafter until October, was appended the following notice:

To the Public: It was my intention to have the advertisement regarding the Rev. Mr. John Farnan discontinued. Justice to myself as the Official Head of this Diocese for the time being, and also to the poor creatures whom he duped, obliges me to continue it.

To account for the tenderness with which I have treated this unfortunate man and the cautious delicacy with which I approached the many serious charges made against him, I must say that *I was deceived in the character of the man*. My eyes have been opened. I have seen too much, and a sense of duty alone impels me to pursue this course. John Power, Vicar General.

Nevertheless, Father Farnan went on with his scheme. He secured some property and started building at the southwest corner of Jay and York Streets, five short blocks north of St. James'.⁷⁷ Here, on the afternoon of October 27, 1831, he laid the corner-stone of his church. Of the ceremony we read:

New Church—the corner-stone of the Independent Catholic Church, corner of Jay and York Streets, was laid on Thursday last with appropriate ceremonies. An address was delivered on the occasion by the Rev. Dr. Farnan, and a numerous concourse of people attended. The basement story of the building is already completed, and it is expected that the church will be roofed in about six weeks.⁷⁸

Lack of funds prevented the completion of "Farnan's Church," as the structure came to be called; it was not roofed over until the fall of 1833 and was never used except that autumn, and then to bury his brother Eugene. Finally, Stephen Whitney, a New York merchant, foreclosed the heavy mortgage and the building passed to Jonathan Rogers, who used the place for a carpenter shop.⁸⁰ Then, dramatically, Bishop John Hughes bought the building and completing the original design, dedicated it in 1842 as the Church of the Assumption.⁸¹

Meanwhile John Farnan had been continuing his activities and the Faithful were again publicly warned against him:

Notice: Understanding that an individual is soliciting contributions in this city towards the erection of a Catholic Church in Brooklyn, I deem it due to the public to inform them that the undertaking has not the sanction of the Catholic Bishop of New York, and that the individual referred to is not an authorized Catholic clergyman. Given under my hand at Philadelphia this 2nd day of January, 1835. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Bishop, etc.⁸²

To this Father Farnan, revealing how far he had gone, replied next day:

The subscriber, being the pastor of an Independent Catholic Church at Brooklyn, N.Y., and being the individual referred to in the foregoing notice, begs leave to inform the public that the subscriber was duly ordained a priest by the Archbishop of Dublin, in the year 1812; that he is now, and ever since he was ordained, has been in regular standing as a priest of the Catholic Church; that when the church of which he is pastor was commenced it was publically announced from the pulpit, by the press and in the subscription papers which were circulated,

that the church was and should be independent of the Roman Catholic Bishop of New York and of the See of Rome. That he, the subscriber, believes in the equal apostolical powers of all apostolical bishops who have derived their ordination from the apostles and the Lord Jesus Christ; that he awards to the bishop, called the Bishop of Rome, no higher ecclesiastical powers than belong to every other bishop under the great head of the church. That the person styling himself Francis Patrick Kenrick, Bishop, etc., is not the Bishop of Philadelphia, and that the above cited notice was given without the knowledge, privity or consent of that distinguished prelate, the Right Rev. Henry Conwell, who is the true canonical bishop of Philadelphia, agreeably to the constitution of the Roman Catholic Church. Given under my hand at Philadelphia, January 5, 1835. John Farnan, Independent Catholic Pastor of Brooklyn, N. Y.⁸³

The *Truth Teller* continued its attacks on Farnan and in 1832 he started suit for libel in Brooklyn against the paper. Father John A. Walsh, who had succeeded Farnan, and Fathers Thomas C. Levins, John Power, and Felix Varela, who contributed to the periodical, William Denman, and a certain Conroy of the staff were summoned to trial. Farnan, however, feared to press the case, "knowing," his opponents charged, that "his character thereby would be made more ignominious."⁸⁴ The *Truth Teller* editorialized:

... he posed as a Catholic in collecting from the poor ... with Protestants he induces their aid against Popery, as he terms it ... frequenting meetings at the Protestant Association in Brooklyn and by his presence there sanctioning the calumnies advanced by Brownlee and his associates against Catholics and their religion ... and at the bidding of the Scotchman formally bowing assent to all that has been said ... the church has been under roof for more than two years ... what has he done with the money?⁸⁵

Father Bernard O'Reilly of St. Patrick's Church, Rochester, also found it necessary to denounce Father Farnan in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* of September 8, 1835. The latter answered in the next day's paper:

Shortly after I declared independence a libel signed by two Roman priests appeared in the *Truth Teller* and they with the editor are indicted in Kings County. ... [He declared he had] testimonials from the pious and eminent Rev. Dr. Brownlee ... [and his] object is dissemination of Bible, education of youth, dissemination of Gospel

Faith [and he was] . . . conscientiously opposed to Jesuits, monasteries, nunneries, the Inquisition and all other institutions incompatible with civil and religious liberty.

Tradition says that Farnan acted as an attorney in the lower courts and had some influence with Jacksonian Democrats.⁸⁶ He probably got some support from the local Native Americans and from the Haganite schismatics of Philadelphia.⁸⁷ Finally, after years of schism, collecting wherever possible, posted and attacked in the press as a suspended priest, and abandoned by Catholics who were more than ever united because of Nativist abuse, his funds and prestige failed, his church property was lost, and he sank into obscurity.⁸⁸

In 1847 Bishop Hughes revoked Father Farnan's suspension and allowed him to affiliate with the diocese of Detroit, where Bishop Lefevre needed English-speaking priests. That fall he became an assistant at Holy Trinity, an Irish parish in Detroit. In June, 1848, the church was closed and the parish was merged with that of the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul. There John Farnan died, November 19, 1849.⁸⁹ Two days later he was buried. The stone over his grave in Mount Elliott Cemetery reads: "The Rev. John Farnan. A native of Ireland. First pastor of Utica and Western N. Y. First pastor of St. James's Church, Brooklyn, N. Y. Associate pastor of Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, Detroit. Died at the episcopal residence, Detroit, Nov. 19, 1849. May his soul rest in peace forever." ⁹⁰

GROWTH AND CONFLICT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE DIOCESE of New York and of Catholicism in Brooklyn during nearly two decades after the dedication of St. James' may be better understood by reference to the general background of those times.

Great changes had come upon the world during the 1820's and 1830's, some of these changes involving the Church. In particular, the July, 1830, revolution in France and the rise of European liberalism paralleled the relaxation of some laws against Catholics in Ireland and England. The Oxford Movement was beginning and, a few years later, the hierarchy was reorganized in Holland. Pope Gregory XVI was signing concordats with European princes; the St. Vincent de Paul Society had initiated its benevolent activities; and the French, Bavarian, and Austrian foreign-mission societies were subsidizing the ancient Church in young America.

In the United States, both natives and immigrants were moving on foot and wagon, on steam and on canal boat, into vast stretches of new territory.¹ In the crowded cities the wheels of the new industrial age were starting to hum, while in Congress the great Hayne-Webster debates on State and Federal rights were under way. But what loomed greater still in men's eyes was the accelerating growth of the nation. The population, which climbed to 12,866,000 in 1830, had jumped to 17,069,453 by 1840.

Immigration played no small part in this growth. From 1830 to 1840 over 600,000 foreigners arrived—four times as many as in the previous decade. The newcomers hoped to exchange religious and political repression and economic hardship for the American opportunities that glib shipping-agents had promised. Once ar-

rived, many of the immigrants remained in the cities, crowding into the oldest buildings² and sending a few dollars back home.³ Clues to the seriousness of their plight were sometimes found in pathetic "Information Wanted" notices in the Catholic press.

The growth of the Church in the United States proceeded at an even more rapid rate than that of the country at large. In 1830 there were 11 sees, 232 priests, and 318,000 souls—a gain of 60 per cent in 10 years. Ten years later, there were 16 bishops, 482 priests, and the number of Faithful had doubled to 663,000—largely because of the arrival of 250,000 more Catholics, over 60 per cent of them Irish.

The struggling priests and bishops of the United States did what they could to save the faith of the growing Catholic population. In 1829 the First Provincial Council of Baltimore urged Catholic schools, school books, and book societies. It denied to trustees the right to appoint or dismiss pastors. This harmonious meeting of bishops of various nationalities warned malcontents, encouraged the Faithful for the troubles to come, and united the Church in America more closely with the supreme jurisdiction of Rome. The Second Provincial Council, held in 1833, appointed a committee to prepare suitable college manuals. It urged isolated Catholics to assemble in small groups for Sunday Mass prayers, to read a book of instruction, and to catechize the children. The Fathers of the Third Provincial Council of 1837 attributed the remarkable growth of Catholicism to natural increase, immigration, and conversions. But with the growth, more priests, parishes, and dioceses were needed.⁴

Catholics happily noted the public honors that came to a few of their coreligionists. The press of the country bore black borders when Charles Carroll died in November, 1832.⁵ The next month Father Charles Constantine Pise became the first and only Catholic chaplain ever chosen by the United States Senate,⁶ while in 1836 the Catholic Roger B. Taney became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.⁷ Unhappily, however, the French-Irish quarrel and the evil of trusteeism persisted, and there had risen, seemingly from the country itself and described as "the most serious and best organized since the days of the Protestant revolt,"⁸ an attempt to destroy the Catholic Church. Any

religious history of those times must recall, albeit regretfully, that during the 1830's and, indeed, the two following decades, the Church was a victim of Protestant-American fears.⁹ Several causes united to bring about this bitter situation.

There was abroad then, as so often since, a curious mixture of reform and fanaticism.¹⁰ The American people had reached "a state of excitement, of lawlessness, of mob rule, such as had never before existed."¹¹ A portion of the press both fostered and bewailed this spirit. Everybody wondered "how people can buy and read those receptacles of scandal . . . yet everybody does encourage them."¹² With Baltimore under mob rule in 1835, such a paper, the *Long Island Star*, editorialized:

The Times . . . fruitful of outrage, murder, vice, crime, delusion, fanaticism. . . . It is *Political Insanity* . . . endeavoring to array the poor against the rich. . . . It is *Religious Insanity* . . . which induces a few persons to seek the emancipation of the blacks at the expense of the *blood* of the whites . . . and expending millions to build churches and employ preachers to teach people *ignorance* and make them hate and persecute each other!!!¹³

The opposition was directed chiefly against the immigrant and his Church. American labor found it hard to compete with immigrant labor. Politicians were disturbed when the "immigrant vote" upset the political timetable. Some sincerely believed the future of America was threatened by the influx of so many foreigners. Less pardonable was the accompanying revival of religious prejudice fostered by some ministers and their press and the flood of obscene and scurrilous literature directed against the Church. Brooklyn and Long Island were not spared humiliating manifestations of this general prejudice.

The Irish were willing workers, and contractors made fortunes from their sweated labor. They were known sometimes to march for miles to confess their sins and to attend Mass offered by an itinerant priest along the lines of public works. Of them it was justly said: "These poor rude men . . . were opening the interior of the State to the empire of religion as well as of commerce."¹⁴ The enterprise of the Irish after centuries of oppression was remarkable. They soon furnished more than laborers and domestics and entered every trade, business, and profession.¹⁵

Many of the native-born, boasting of national growth, exploited and scorned its source—the immigrant. They criticized the newcomers for settling together, voting in national groups, and perpetuating old-country customs and loyalties as incompatible with the duties of naturalized citizens. The brogue offended Anglo-Saxon ears; the insistence of Germans on retaining their language in school and church was exasperating. Philip Hone, a former mayor of New York (1826-1827), complained that immigrants increased taxes and encumbered the streets. He contended that not one in 20 was competent to keep himself. He characterized the Irish as “the most ignorant people I know and vice and ignorance go together. . . . Strangers among us without affection for America, they decide the elections.”¹⁶ The *Long Island Star* did not like them either: “We understand there arrived last week in New York, more than 2,000 fine specimens of the ‘rale ginnewine’ democrats, y’clep’d emigrants.” It quoted with approval on June 6, 1836, the *New York Gazette*: “On Wednesday Broadway was crowded with a number of the worst looking emigrants just landed . . . scarecrows and loafers . . . all fresh from English almshouses . . . valuable addition to our population. . . . Does anyone know when it will please these newcomers to take lodgings in the Bellevue Hotel [almshouse and hospital]?”¹⁸

On the political scene the old Federalists, or Whigs, as they called themselves in 1834, and the Democrats sought the Irish vote. The Federalists had opposed the foreigner and were supported by the Masons and Orangemen,¹⁹ but the anti-Catholic bias of John Quincy Adams contributed to his defeat by Andrew Jackson for the presidency in 1828.²⁰ Jefferson, on the other hand, had reduced property qualifications for voters and resisted attempts to extend the required time of residence for foreign-born voters. As a result the Irish became intense Jeffersonian Democrats and, with the economic, political, and religious freedom of America after the poverty and persecution of Ireland, became more appreciative and affectionate citizens than the natives.

The Native American Democratic Association, formed on June 10, 1835, in New York City, was the first political party formally pledged to oppose the Catholic Church. It advocated a 21-year

probation for citizenship and opposed foreign-born office-holders because its members believed:

... almost the whole body of Emigrants to this country . . . are persons attached to the Roman Catholic Church . . . all the Bishops and Priests . . . are appointed by the Pope and under his direct control . . . religion and politics are inseparably united in the public creeds and standard works of the Roman Catholic Church,—the Pope claiming to be the supreme ruler of both Church and State . . . and to have the rightful authority . . . to absolve the members of his church from their oath of allegiance to any Government. . . . there now exists in Europe a combination of foreigners, under the name and title of 'St. Leopold Foundation' which have sent their missionaries into our land, to inculcate the Roman Catholic Religion.

These Missionaries . . . are actually employed in inculcating their principles among the Protestants . . . while they leave the children of the lower classes of their own church almost neglected. . . . [Catholic principles violate] equal and free toleration of all religious opinions . . . [and immigrants have] caused riots and bloodshed in our peaceful city.²¹

The press generally did not favor the Native American religious proscription, but many papers advocated political restrictions for foreigners. In fact the Rochester *Democrat* declared in 1830, "The Presbyterian Church will be the established Church of this Union or we will wade through blood to attain that just prerogative."²² The Sag Harbor *Corrector* and the *Long Island Star* fostered political and religious bias from their inception, the latter alternating intolerance with blandishments and hypocritical appeals for the Irish vote.

The *Star* declared, "We never were unfriendly to the Irish and never spoke against them in terms of abuse."²³ Again, it asserted, "No people have shown a stronger attachment to this country than the natives of Ireland, and none show more general concord and kindness among themselves."²⁴ At another time, the *Star* avowed "the utmost humanity and kindness for the Irish . . . whose labors are indispensable to our country, whose errors are of the head not of the heart."²⁵ "We are friends not flatterers of the Irish . . . they . . . contribute immensely to the wealth of the whole community."²⁶ But that same paper wholeheartedly approved the Native American object to keep out this "moral pestilence . . . refuse of Europe."²⁷ The journal welcomed the Kings County convention

of Native Americans held on October 12, 1835, printed their address, and editorially adopted their language.²⁸ The *Star* rejoiced also when Judge Dikeman, Native American, defeated N. B. Morse, Democrat, in the ensuing assembly election, "by AMERICAN votes in a struggle against the inroads of foreign influence and Popery."²⁹

The following February, in an attempted self-defense, some 40 citizens of Kings County, including "William Kerrigan, President of the Board of Catholic Trustees," petitioned the Legislature to oust Dikeman, citing Article 4, Section 7, of the Constitution which stated: "No minister of the Gospel should . . . hold any civil or military office within the State." But Dikeman maintained that although he was a Baptist who sometimes preached and exhorted, he did not claim the character, duty, or emoluments of a clergyman, and the petitioners failed to secure satisfaction.³⁰

As the spring election campaign got under way, Brooklyn's newspaper, recognizing "full and complete toleration of religious opinion,"³¹ supported the local Native American ticket. It predicted: ". . . defeat . . . will transfer the birthright of our children to foreigners, a majority of whom . . . are sworn to . . . subvert our country—and to establish on its ruins the bloody flag of Popery."³² However, the Natives lost and the *Star* lamented, "Native Americans defeated—Foreigners Triumphant—Corruption and Bribery Successful—Political Popery Erect!!! . . . the 'Foreign Party' have elected a majority of their candidates . . . after erasing the names of the O'Doughertys, O'Carraghans, O'Mulligans, O'Raffertys, the Felixes, Owens and the other *arrah Pats*."³³

It is evident, from some identical aspects of the Native American movement throughout the country, that anti-Catholic prejudice was being organized into a national political front.³⁴ Chief among its sponsors were some Protestant ministers who constantly revived anti-Catholic feeling in pulpit, press, and meetings. This organized opposition had begun in New York in 1829, when 73 ministers founded a weekly no-popery paper, *The Protestant*. The New York Protestant Association, which sponsored the paper, formed branches in every city "to expose the vile acts of Popery," "the incompatibility of the Roman Catholic religion with the republican principles of these states," and "to defend the principles

of the Reformation.”³⁵ Not content with this, the association published vile books and cartoons and supported anti-Catholic lectures. Some Protestant papers began to teem with billingsgate and anti-Christian and anti-social baseness.³⁶

In 1833 the Reverend George Bourne, English-born Dutch Reformed minister and editor of *The Protestant* since 1832, tried his hand at a volume of obscene fiction. It was entitled *Lorette, the History of Louise, Daughter of a Canadian Nun, Exhibiting the Interior of Female Convents*.³⁷ It was a financial success and set the pattern for similar volumes, as, for instance, Rebecca Reed's scurrilous and mendacious *Six Months in a Convent*, which quickly followed. This volume was in turn followed by the *Supplement to Six Months in a Convent*, which the *Star* of July 9, 1835, called “A sound and convincing demonstration of the dangers of *CLOISTER EDUCATION* . . . the object is truth and argument, not abuse and invective. . . . Confirming the experience of Rebecca Theresa Reed by the testimonies of more than 100 witnesses. . . .” In October, 1835, the *Protestant Vindicator*, successor of *The Protestant*, began publishing weekly the long-remembered calumnies of Maria Monk's *Nunneries*. It was brought out in book form the following January in New York by two employees of Harper Brothers, with the title, *Awful Disclosures of the Hotel Dieu Convent of Montreal, or The Secrets of the Black Nunnery Revealed*.³⁸ It threw other popular nunnery fiction into the shade.

But William L. Stone, Protestant editor of the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, a no-popery sheet, found his patronage of Maria embarrassing and determined to see for himself. After a thorough investigation, he pronounced her a fraud and published a refutation. But for one person who read the refutation, thousands read and believed the book. A number of ministers continued to uphold the unfortunate woman and the Protestant Association challenged Catholics to debate. When they failed to respond, the association insisted Maria had been vindicated.³⁹ The authoress returned to her evil life, served several terms in prison, and died there. But a century later, she was still invoked on the radio and published in London and New York.⁴⁰

The *Star*, which had been attacking papal “repression and con-

piracy" and printing notices of anti-Catholic meetings, bigoted exchanges, and anonymously communicated letters—some under Spooner's pen name of Peter Porcupine—found plenty of copy in Maria for the next 18 months. It gave the *Disclosures* free notices, editorial recommendation, and advertising space. "Though many say the book is false, we do not," it declared, adding details that left nothing to the imagination. "We *believe the book* and as we are an enquirer of the *truth*, we determine to give our readers the result, whatever it may be."⁴¹ Seven months later the *Star* doubted the honesty of a committee investigating Maria's charges and printed a letter from her in proof.⁴² It also carried the bitterly anti-Catholic resolutions of a meeting at the American Tract Society, which appointed the Nativists George Hall, ex-mayor of Brooklyn, and Professor S. F. B. Morse, among others, to investigate the charges at Montreal. It found space, too, in the same issue smugly to condemn the lawlessness that burnt the Charlestown convent.⁴³ On October 13, 1836, the newspaper printed Stone's refutation of Maria.⁴⁴ Six months later the *Star* maintained that the silence of the Church had led people to believe it immoral; prompt vindication would have been easier; Stone's refutation was inadequate.⁴⁵ But the repentance of this influential Brooklyn newspaper was not genuine, for reviewing the *Confessions of a French Catholic Priest*, edited by Morse, it declared that even though one might not believe all of Maria Monk, yet here was a book that convinced them that priests were bad enough to do all that Maria ascribed to them, and it recommended the volume to its readers.⁴⁶

Even before the outpouring of the salacious novels, some of the ministers had begun their holy war on popery in Brooklyn, stimulated no doubt by Farnan's defection. In 1830 at the Presbyterian Church \$500 was collected "to check the unhallowed influence of infidels and Papists in the Mississippi Valley."⁴⁷ Their success is not recorded, but to confound the enemy nearer home, Gerardus B. Docharty tried his talents on the theme of "bigotry, fanaticism and superstition and servility toward the Pope" at Queens Lyceum.⁴⁸ By 1832 the campaign was well organized, with the Protestant Association, directed by the Dutch Reformed ministers W. C. Brownlee and George Bourne, meeting regularly at

St. John's Episcopal Church, the Pearl Street Baptist Church, and the district public schoolroom on Middagh Street.

Catholics twice undertook to debate matters with their opponents, the first time on May 28, 1832, before 500 who paid 12½ cents admission. Reverend Messrs. Dewey and Stark, Mr. Roy, who was editor of *The Protestant*, and others were opposed by Father John Walsh, pastor at that time of St. James', and a Mr. Shields. The question was, "Are the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church justifiable in either withholding or forbidding their members to read the Holy Scriptures except through the medium of their Church?" Prayer by Protestant clergy opened and closed the meeting. The *Star* declined to present either argument, for "In this country the Protestants and the Catholics stand on equal and free ground" and no harm could come if such debates were orderly.⁴⁹ Whatever the impression created, Dr. Power discussed the same topic a week later at St. James'. His remarks were commended in the following notice that appeared in the *Truth Teller*:

The congregation, through their Pastor, the Rev. Mr. Walsh, cannot resist the ardent desire of offering you the homage of their grateful thanks, as voted unanimously to you, at a general meeting held this afternoon; not only for your highly dignified and triumphant defence of our holy Church, in her practice of giving to her children the pure and uncorrupted word of God, but also for your almost total destruction of those prejudices, which are but too prevalent among many of our otherwise highly esteemed fellow-citizens. To our very great gratification, they have almost one and all candidly acknowledged never to have heard anything equal to that sermon before. That you may live long to adorn your sacred character in the ministry, to render harmless the poisoned shafts of religious bigotry, calumny, and intolerant persecution is the ardent wish of our whole congregation. Thos. Mooney, Chairman; John Murray, Secretary.⁵⁰

The writers of the foregoing communication were oversanguine, for two days after its appearance a debate was held at the Baptist Church, "very much crowded with ladies and gentlemen of respectability and intelligence." Brownlee, Roy, and four others debated a Mr. Cadley on "Is the Roman Purgatory a Fiction?" "Candidus," reporting on the discussion, wrote that "It was very fully proved that Purgatory has no existence . . . and produced a

beginning of reform in the individual Roman Catholic Churches of N. Y. and Brooklyn." ⁵¹

The *Star* advertised that priests would respond on October 8 to the question, "Is the Roman Mass Idolatry?" Apparently none appeared and "Protestant" wrote, complaining of the un-Christian spirit, ridicule, and lack of argument; he pleaded for charity, pointing to the work of the Sisters of Charity; but a "Lover of the Protestants" rebuked him. ⁵²

At the Baptist Church that fall, the Reverends Brownlee, Crosby, and Bourne asked, "Are Papal Indulgences Consistent with the Christian Religion?" and found them contrary to Scripture and common sense. ⁵³ There was solemn consideration also of the questions, "Are Monastic Institutions Consistent with Morality?" and "Is the Invocation of the Saints Consistent with Morality?" ⁵⁴

The public school building, supported in part by Catholic taxes, was next pressed into service, but admission was free. Some of the topics were the following: "The Supremacy of the Pope, Spiritual and Temporal"; "Was it Right and Proper in the Protestant Reformers to secede from the Roman Church?" (but such misgivings were only simulated); "Where was the Protestant Religion Before the Days of Luther?" (which was quite daring); "Is Popery a Novelty?" and the "Falsehood of Roman Catholic Justification." Mr. Smith, "converted Roman priest," also lectured. ⁵⁵ The attacks continued through the next few years, the favorite topics being the un-Christian character of confession and the incompatibility of popery and civil liberty. ⁵⁶

Under such provocation it was not surprising that violence should break out, but beyond one small Irish-Native American riot, none was reported for Brooklyn. ⁵⁷ The Catholics in New York suffered the loss, through incendiarism, of St. Mary's Church, Sheriff Street, in 1831. ⁵⁸ Three years later a Boston mob, lashed to frenzy by the pulpit diatribes of Lyman Beecher, Congregationalist minister and father of Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn, destroyed the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts; despoiled the Blessed Sacrament; and scattered the sisters and their students into the night. The guilty were known but never brought to justice. ⁵⁹ In 1835 the New York Catholic churches, in-

cluding the cathedral, were repeatedly threatened, but the Irish rallied to their defense as riot followed from June 20 to 24.⁶⁰

During all these outrages Catholics were in a helpless minority. They owned only six of the 150 churches in New York and but one of the 18 Brooklyn churches. In 1840 there were in the United States 42 Protestant ministers and 50 congregations for every Catholic priest and parish.⁶¹ An unbiassed and acute observer, Alexis de Tocqueville, wrote at the time that ". . . the Catholics of the United States are at the same time the most faithful believers and the most zealous citizens."⁶² However, many Protestants regarded them as inferior in every way, unworthy of confidence, and without claim to their sympathy.⁶³ Toleration changed to fear and persecution because of Catholic growth.

It is more pleasant to recall that some Protestant protests were also raised on behalf of Catholics. "How were Catholics treated? . . . as the enemies of religion and liberty . . . the whole community was taught to regard them with a kind of horror."⁶⁴ Another wrote:

. . . the most bitter animosity prevails between . . . certain of the pastors of the Dutch Reformed and of the Roman Catholic Churches. Hence, too, the justification of that most atrocious arson, the burning of the Charlestown convent; and . . . the encouragement of that foul imposture, the Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk.

The Pope of Rome is coming hither. . . . But how is he to be arrested? By reason, by argument, by Christian charity? No; his own weapons are to be turned against him—violence, imposture and deceit.⁶⁵

Harriet Martineau protested:

The hatred to the Catholics also approaches . . . to the oppression of the negro. It is pleaded . . . there is a very prevalent ignorance on the subject of the Catholic religion and that dreadful slanders are being circulated by a very few. . . . The question 'where is thy faith?' might reasonably have been put to the Presbyterian clergymen who preached three long denunciations against the Catholics of Boston, the Sunday before the burning of the Charlestown Convent, and also to parents who put into their childrens' hands, as religious books, the foul libels against the Catholics which are circulated throughout the country. . . . While the Presbyterians preach a harsh ascetic persecuting religion, the Catholics dispense a mild and indulgent one; the prodigious increase of their numbers is a necessary consequence.⁶⁶

In Advent of 1835 a "voice in the wilderness" spoke when Evan M. Johnson, the Episcopalian rector, regretting his action in permitting the Nativists to meet in his church three years earlier, preached on "Toleration" at St. John's Church, Brooklyn, on Thanksgiving Day, December 10, 1835. But Spooner did not approve, and devoting one-quarter of a column to the discourse, he wrote a full column criticizing it as an attack on the Pilgrim Fathers and an apology for Roman Catholics:

... the [effect of the] Roman ... Catholic System on the LIBERTIES AND MORALS of a people ... is destructive to human liberty and morality ... every good citizen should ... induce those misguided people to *quit that religion*, as it is scarcely to be apprehended they can adopt a *worse* one. ... It has been everywhere the handmaid of tyranny, cruelty, and the most bloody oppression—the mother of ignorance. ... In this country the Jesuits are spies on every family ... the subservience of the priesthood to the Pope. ... [Irish Catholics] are generally extremely ignorant and unable to understand or appreciate the electoral privilege and are quite averse to political toleration.⁶⁷

Meanwhile, Fathers Power, Levins, Schneller, Varela, and Pise used the *Truth Teller*⁶⁸ and the *New York Weekly Register and Catholic Diary* to answer such misrepresentations. The former paper's vigorous style appeared in its castigation of the short-lived *Brooklyn Native American Citizen*, which it called "the meanest print of the meanest party on earth. ... The editor ... fancied ... he could probably drive Irishmen and Catholics out of Brooklyn. If he had succeeded, a large board might have been affixed in Brooklyn with the words 'City to Let.' " It urged the Democrats to annihilate the Native American party and rid Brooklyn of the Whigs.⁶⁹

While this was taking place on the local scene, the famous debates of Father John Hughes and the Reverend John Breckenridge in Philadelphia, 1833-1836, and those of Bishop John B. Purcell of Cincinnati and Alexander Campbell in 1837, were carried in the Catholic and Protestant press of the country. Save for occasional and quite mild allusions, however, the majority of the hierarchy preserved a dignified silence.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the Provincial Councils of Baltimore took official notice of the situation. The council of 1833 demanded equal rights and fair play

for Catholics. The better journals approved as the council rebuked bigots, defended Catholic allegiance, and comforted the Faithful. But anti-Catholic prejudices grew alarmingly. The Third Provincial Council, noting this in 1837, indicted those ministers, especially of New York, who flooded the country with anti-Catholic and lascivious fiction disseminated in the name of religion and, in reality, injuring public morality. The Fourth Council in 1840 deplored public education administered through Protestant books and prayers and called for resistance by appeal to civic authorities.

The attempt to outlaw the Church failed, but only because the non-Catholics could not unite. They realized that if they succeeded against the Catholic Church, the freedom of each sect would be endangered.⁷¹ Catholics had exhibited remarkable self-restraint, and persecution only strengthened them. But affection for the Yankee changed to distrust⁷² and evidences of good feeling became rare. The wounds were deep. The scars still remain, especially in the suburban areas. Religious bigotry is a two-edged sword.

BROOKLYN UNDER BISHOP DUBOIS

JOHAN DUBOIS HAD BEEN the third bishop of New York all through the unhappy period just reviewed. He was born in Paris in 1764 and was ordained there in 1787 in time to witness the opening of a far worse political and religious persecution. Four years later he fled the terror of the French Revolution and became a missionary priest in Virginia and Maryland. Then he joined the Baltimore Sulpicians and in 1808 founded Mount St. Mary's College and Seminary at Emmitsburg. There also he aided Mother Seton in the formation of the Sisters of Charity.

Father Dubois was consecrated as Bishop of New York, October 19, 1826, in the Cathedral of the Assumption at Baltimore by Archbishop Maréchal, with Bishop Henry Conwell of Philadelphia and Father Power of New York assisting. Father William Taylor of St. Patrick's, New York, preached at the ceremony, tactlessly prophesying great trouble and characterizing this appointment over a largely Irish flock as hazardous.¹

The zealous and aging bishop, quickly surveying the local scene, pleaded for unity among priests and people. Next, he proceeded to visit his vast diocese, covering in one trip over 3,000 miles. Observing that public school indifferentism led to irreligion, he urged the establishment of schools and academies.² Then, realizing that his resources were not equal to the great need of priests, churches, and schools, he sailed for Europe in search of help on September 20, 1829.

In Rome the following March he penned a description of his situation to the Lyons Association for the Propagation of the Faith. His diocese, he said, contained over 2,000,000 souls, 250,000

of whom dwelt within the limits of the present Greater New York. In Manhattan there were about 35,000 Catholics, and to minister to them, there were only four or five priests, four churches, two schools, and an orphanage. Elsewhere in the diocese were 150,000 more Catholics, a dozen priests, and nine churches. But his own words are more eloquent than statistics:

In my old age I must trot over the city ten times a day and get so tired at night I have not courage to sit up. . . . Compelled at once to fill the office of bishop, priest and catechist, if I ever absented myself for a few days from my city flock, it was but to run after those of my lambs which were scattered throughout the rest of my vast diocese. The journeying . . . to visit them, was the only relaxation that I had to comfort me for the weariness of the confessional and my daily attendance on the sick; but alas! the weariness of the body is nothing in comparison to the anguish of mind which I experienced at sight of the endless number of neglected souls that I met on my way, who begged me for pastors and to whom I could respond only with tears.³

The bishop returned to New York on November 20, 1831, after an absence of 26 months ⁴ to learn that his problems had multiplied with Farnan's defection, the outbreak of Nativism, and the renewal of trustee trouble. His flock had increased in size and his need for more priests, churches, and schools was as pressing as ever.

Poverty continued to tie his hands. St. Peter's was an old, small chapel; the cathedral was unfinished. The bishop inserted notices in the press requesting his numerous correspondents to pay the postage on all letters addressed to him.⁵ His income was small and uncertain and half of it went for rent. Only the Irish, the most numerous and the poorest of his flock, were accustomed to supporting their parish churches. Pew rent, paid by a quarter of the congregations, added a few dollars more. European Catholics had no idea of the poverty of the New York Church, but the Holy Father sent a few thousand dollars and, by 1838, the European mission societies had sent about \$36,000.⁶

The bishop's need for priests was as chronic as his need for money and he lamented, "An immense harvest is before me but no laborers to help me reap it and no means necessary to defray the numerous expenses."⁷ Priestly ideals suffered in an atmosphere of lay domination. Catholic schools were few, Catholic traditions weak. A secular tone in a Protestant land prevailed. He struggled

tragically to establish a diocesan seminary, but not until the end of his days was his desire realized. Meanwhile, he encouraged candidates to the priesthood and followed their progress with the eye for detail of a former seminary-director.⁸

In April, 1832, he bought 160 acres at Nyack, 22 miles from New York, for \$12,000, a sum which was received largely from abroad. The property had a mansion and a quarry. In May, one year later, he laid the cornerstone of a college and seminary and in August he dedicated the chapel. His first faculty consisted of Father John F. McGerry, former president of Mount St. Mary's College, and the youthful Father John McCloskey. There were five students, including young John Loughlin. Hopes soared, then turned to ashes as fire destroyed the building soon after. The damage of \$30,000 was not covered by insurance.⁹

The doughty bishop sought more funds to resume building, declaring to his people, ". . . in vain will you multiply churches without clergy." ¹⁰ Then Cornelius Heeney offered some lots adjoining the newly dedicated Church of St. Paul in Brooklyn and, it has been said, the stone was moved from Nyack to the new site.¹¹ Bishop John Hughes, recently consecrated as coadjutor to Dubois, was jubilant and he wrote to Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore on March 30, 1838, "We are about to commence the college in Brooklyn. I hope to have it under roof by the end of Nov. next. It is to be 120 feet long—50 deep and four stories high—in a most beautiful location commanding a full view of the bay, the city and surrounding objects." ¹² Six weeks later he wrote in less sanguine strain to Father John McCaffrey of Emmitsburg, "We are about to erect a college in Brooklyn, and hoping to be more successful in the undertaking than heretofore. . . . It will be at least two years before it can go into operation." ¹³ But on August 23, Dubois was reported as fearing "for the Brooklin lot, that it may be a failure." ¹⁴

These remarks of Dubois and of Hughes in 1838 are difficult to understand. No deed from Heeney for a college seems to have existed. Promises of land for a church and an orphanage became public, respectively, in May, 1835, and in September, 1837. Deeds giving land for the church and orphanage were dated, respectively, September 1, 1836, and October 30, 1837. The church was dedi-

cated, January 21, 1838; the orphanage was occupied about November 1 of that year. Funds were received from September, 1837, through June, 1839, not for a seminary, but for an orphanage.¹⁵ It has been said that Heeney refused to give a clear title to the land until the building was completed.¹⁶ Whatever the truth of the matter may be, the plan for a college and seminary in Brooklyn was never realized.

A quick shift in plans next brought the project to Lafargeville, Jefferson County, 350 miles from New York. There, in a mansion on 400 acres that Bishop Dubois bought from John LaFarge, was opened on September 20, 1838, the College and Seminary of St. Vincent de Paul. The superior, Father Francis Guth, was assisted by Fathers Patrick Moran and Michael Heas and three lay tutors. In 1839 nine theological students and a few collegians attended, including among the latter the future Brooklyn pastors, Sylvester Malone and Anthony Farley. But the climate was too harsh, the seminary too remote, and the institution closed in 1840.¹⁷ That fall Bishop Hughes opened St. Joseph's Seminary at Fordham.

Similarly, the aged bishop was unable to cope with the incubus of trusteeism until the evening of his life. He had found "a tractableness which is very gratifying" among his "large and ignorant flock" but the Church was "perfectly enslaved."¹⁸ He had denied in 1827 any French conspiracy or antipathy toward the Irish, and in 1834 he reiterated his earlier plea for unity. But that year the crisis came to a head with the suspension for disobedience of Father Thomas C. Levins, pastor of the cathedral. The trustees, however, proceeded to employ that priest in the bishop's school and threatened to withhold the bishop's salary. Dubois maintained his authority, but the trouble dragged on until 1839.¹⁹ Early in that year the trustees expelled a teacher appointed by the bishop, but now the strong, young hand of Bishop Hughes was at the helm. He spoke to the congregation on February 24. "Do not suppose that the Church of God, because she has no civil support for her laws and discipline, is therefore obliged to see them trampled on by her own children, without any means for their preservation. She has means," he said, implying interdict and excommunication.²⁰ "Did they want their church," he asked, "to become, like the Church of England, a gilded slave chained to the throne? . . .

Would they be false to the traditions of their loyal and self-sacrificing forefathers, or would they allow the State constable to appoint their priests and their teachers?"²¹ As a consequence the pew holders elected trustees who resolved:

[it is] unworthy of our profession as Roman Catholics to oppose ourselves or to suffer any one in our name to oppose any let, obstacle, or hindrance—no matter how legal such action may be—which would hinder or prevent our bishop from the full, free and entire exercise of the rights, powers, and duties which God has appointed as inherent in his office and the Church has authorized him to preserve, exercise and fulfill.²²

Nevertheless, despite trials and disappointments, the diocese enjoyed a progressively remarkable growth. The Sisters of Charity opened their first private academy in 1830 at St. Patrick's, and the number of private lay-conducted secondary schools slowly increased.²³ By 1835 the sisters were conducting four free parish schools, with an enrollment of 1,851 children, and there were five orphanages in the diocese.²⁴ In 1835 also there were 11 Catholic weeklies in the country. Locally, the *Truth Teller*, by now tainted with trusteeism and politics, lost in favor to the excellent New York *Weekly Register and Catholic Diary* (1833 to 1836). Father Levins, while under suspension, published the *Green Banner* from 1835 to 1837. These journals gave more space to Irish and European than to local news. They carried exchanges, religious controversy and verse, and joyful accounts of the world-wide and local extension of the Church, and they helped preserve the faith of immigrants bewildered and persecuted in a strange land. Periodical reading for children first appeared when C. H. Gottsberger published in New York the *Children's Catholic Magazine* from 1838 to 1840. It combated anti-Catholic school books, printed the Commandments in verse and biographies, sponsored literary contests, and had 13,000 subscribers.²⁵ By 1840 the diocese of New York numbered 200,000 faithful, 41 churches, and 56 priests.²⁶ A symbol of this growth and portent of the future was John Hughes.

Bishop Dubois asked the Holy See for a coadjutor in 1835. In 1838 he consecrated Father John Hughes, whom he had received 20 years before as a gardener and then as a seminarian at Mount St. Mary's in Emmitsburg. Shortly after the ceremony, Dubois

was stricken with paralysis, but he refused to relinquish his office until instructions arrived from Rome in August, 1839, transferring the administration to Bishop Hughes.²⁷ The ailing prelate lingered until December 20, 1842, when death came. At his funeral were present "the unusual and imposing number of 58 clergymen and seminarians."²⁸

The Church in Brooklyn during the 1830's had become an increasingly important part of the diocese. For, just as the bustling metropolis of New York had swept up to and past the cathedral on Mott Street, so the Catholics in Brooklyn found themselves in a rapidly expanding community.

By 1830 there were 20,535 people living in Kings County, of whom 12,302 dwelt in Brooklyn Village. At the same time, Queens County, including present Nassau, had a population of 22,276, while Suffolk counted 26,780. A decade later the population of Kings had grown to 47,613, outnumbering Queens, now grown to 30,324, and Suffolk with 32,649. In 1840 also, the city of Brooklyn, which had been incorporated on April 8, 1834, numbered 36,233 inhabitants of whom 25,671 dwelt within the limits of the old village.²⁹

The new city of Brooklyn included the five old village districts and four new adjacent wards. It covered about 12 square miles and was bounded by the town lines of Williamsburg, East New York, Flatbush, and New Utrecht. Village government cost \$17,921.88 in 1833, but municipal government quickly became more expensive and complex. Its business outgrew the Apprentices' Lyceum on Cranberry Street and the cornerstone of the City Hall (now Borough Hall) was laid in 1836, but bad times delayed its completion until 1848.³⁰

Signs of this growth were everywhere. Marshes were filled, creeks and inlets dredged; factories and warehouses crowded the shores, dozens of ships from the seven seas lay at their wharves. The "mayor and aldermen had their hands and heads full of plans, maps and street regulations" and the "American go-ahead" principle was on every lip. Whereas in 1833 oil lamps flickered on 16 streets, seven years later Brooklyn had 35 miles of lighted streets.³¹ From all this it was apparent to Spooner that Brooklyn had "advantages her neighbor cannot vie with and as capital of Long

Island has a high destiny before her." Marvelling at "the elegant stage coaches going daily to the nearer villages and thrice weekly to eastern Long Island," he declared, "It is no longer a common remark that Long Island is 50 years behind the rest of the Union."³² But something greater than stages was available in the completion to Jamaica in April, 1835, of the Brooklyn and Jamaica Railroad. Two years later steam engines were pulling strings of stagecoaches as far as Hicksville at 12 miles per hour. Greater speed, it was said, was bad for the heart.³³

Social service took another forward step when in 1830 Dr. Thorne and others opened a free dispensary at 168 Fulton Street. Peter Turner, one of its directors, also found time to be a city health warden and a member of the village poor-relief committee.³⁴ The county poorhouse was erected in Flatbush in 1832. That summer, the visitation of the dreaded cholera was particularly severe, carrying off 274 of the city's population of 17,000,³⁵ and St. James' Cemetery opened 50 new graves. The hours for celebrating Masses became irregular and special prayers were said while clergy and religious risked their lives to alleviate the suffering. The City Hospital was established in 1839 at Adams near Johnson Street. Among its organizers and physicians were Dr. Thorne and two Irish-born doctors.³⁶

Slavery had ceased in the state on July 4, 1827, but while abolition fever grew, the press advertised for a decade longer indentured apprentices, men and women, black and white, of Irish and other descent. A \$2.00 debt brought imprisonment in 1830 and in 1837 there were 538 almshouse children working on Long Island farms.³⁷ The subjects of temperance and poor relief were widely discussed and there were spirited local campaigns fought over tavern licenses.³⁸ Although Lyman Beecher had some time before described intemperance as "the sin of the land," the Irish newcomers were blamed for it and for filling poorhouses and jails. In 1832 the Irish Fifth District had, proportionately, the second largest number of taverns, but its proportion of unlicensed to licensed taverns was second smallest.³⁹ Spooner declared:

[More than] half of all the paupers in the state are foreigners . . . this Country has been for years the receptacle of hundreds upon hundreds of ship-loads of English, Irish and German paupers, shipped out

of those countries by the overseers of the Poor to people the Alms houses of America and furnish us with voters!⁴⁰

Yet he counted only 106 foreigners among 376 almshouse tenants in Kings County, while from 1828 to 1832 Irish-born formed less than nine per cent of the prison population of the state. In 1834, one-fourth of New York almshouse inmates were Irish. Then, too, the cost of rearing immigrants was borne in their native land. Their occupations were most hazardous and employers left disabled employees a burden on the community.⁴¹ But Spooner was unconvinced and going to the heart of things asked:

But while we are all warning against intemperance why not also look to the *causes* of intemperance? Although these causes embrace very numerous considerations, yet so far as the mass of *foreigners* is concerned, we have no doubt it will be found that the Catholic religion is particularly designed to keep people in *ignorance*.⁴²

But all was not vexation of spirit induced by Puritanic reform. Rockaway and Coney Island had become famous pleasure resorts, fireworks enlivened Brooklyn summer evenings, and dioramas foreshadowed motion pictures. Among the occasional theatrical performers were some with Catholic names.⁴³

There were only three public schools in 1831; but private schools, including a number conducted by Irish, French, Spanish, and Italian schoolmasters, were common.⁴⁴ A few men of letters were finding their way to Brooklyn and Long Island,⁴⁵ and lyceums, libraries, and newspapers were furnishing other educational opportunities.

In 1837 Brooklyn had seven Protestant denominations possessing 18 churches. Their influence was considerable and the temptation to join them great. But Protestant thought was in ferment and rationalism disputed with revivalism. Ministers preached essays on self-improvement and became fanatically interested in temperance and abolition. Attendance at church and Sunday school was general but it was thought sinful to recreate on Sunday.⁴⁶ Such Manicheism, especially at Christmas, which became a legal holiday only some decades later, brought protests from Furman.⁴⁷

As Brooklyn grew, its Catholic inhabitants shared in the growth of their community and contributed to it. By 1830 the St. James' congregation probably numbered about 5,000 and by 1840 had

increased to three or four times that number.⁴⁸ To minister to them, Father John A. Walsh came from St. Patrick's Cathedral on September 20, 1829, succeeding Father Farnan. Posterity would regard him as the real founder of the Brooklyn mission. He was born in Ireland, educated in Montreal, and when appointed to St. James', had been ordained two years.⁴⁹ For the next 10 years he rented living quarters at various addresses in the parish.⁵⁰ At once he began attending the Catholics throughout Long Island; and as the village about him changed into a city, he shepherded his constantly growing flock and helped Irishmen become Americans. At the outset he had to suffer the attempts of Farnan to start an independent church, the antipathy of the *Star*, and the tirades of the Protestant Association, with whom he held one debate.

Father Patrick Moran, his first assistant (December, 1832, to June, 1833) and destined to become the first vicar general of the diocese of Newark, recorded the poverty of the assignment, when he wrote after four months of service that he had "heard something of a salary being appointed for me by the congregation, but I have received no official communication from them, nor have I seen the color of their money since I came to Brooklyn."⁵¹ Father Bernard O'Reilly, who helped from November, 1834, to April, 1835, would become vicar general of the diocese of Buffalo in 1847, and in 1850, the second bishop of Hartford.⁵² Fathers Hugh Maguire and Patrick Bradley also assisted the pastor in 1837, as did Father James Doherty, who served from July, 1835, to August, 1837, and became the second priest to be buried in St. James' churchyard. His funeral in 1841 was attended by the Reverend Evan Johnson, rector of St. John's Episcopal Church, who, it is pleasant to record, had "conceived kind and liberal feelings toward Catholics in the past."⁵³

A record of some of Father Walsh's pastoral activity has been uncovered in the press of his day. He was not long at St. James' when he promoted a sacred concert which presented "rational entertainment rarely offered in Brooklyn" and brought "a very respectable collection."⁵⁴ His interest in the young men of the parish led him to institute a debating society and to become president of the following enterprise:

The young men belonging to the congregation of St. James Church, Brooklyn, considering it highly beneficial, and conducive to their instruction and general knowledge both in spiritual and temporal matters, to collect by their joint exertions and the aid of their friends a library of good books, they have accordingly formed themselves into a society called 'The Young Men's Library Society' attached to St. James Church, Brooklyn. . . . In case that the above Society should at any time desolve, according to their constitution, the library is to become the property of the orphan Asylum attached to said church. . . .⁵⁵

From such young men Walsh probably recruited the collegians and seminarians whom he sent to Emmitsburg. He had written to Father Butler at the Mount, probably in serio-comic vein, "I suppose the Brooklanders will soon form the majority in your college," and he has been credited with having given \$1,000 to Mount St. Mary's.⁵⁶

Despite its own poverty, the tradition of generosity toward extra-parochial causes continued at St. James'. In 1830 Father Joseph A. Schneller preached at a high Mass for funds for his church in New Brunswick, New Jersey.⁵⁷ In 1832 a collection was given for St. Mary's Church, Ridge Street, New York,⁵⁸ and from 1831 to 1834 funds were raised for the exiled Poles.⁵⁹ Beginning in 1833 Bishop Dubois ordered annual diocesan Christmas collections for orphan support, and that year St. James' contributed \$150 in a diocesan total of \$1,614. Five years later the Easter collections began to be devoted to the same purpose.⁶⁰ A few years later, a diocesan collection on Thanksgiving Day was taken up "for the Lying-in Hospital where many of our people go."⁶¹ After the panic year of 1837 funds were low, and Walsh therefore invited John Power to preach; with the proceeds he was able to erect a new altar and paint and repair the church. As a result the church "looked very well" in June, 1838, when Bishop Dubois confirmed 120 at the eight o'clock Mass. Bishop Hughes, who accompanied him, preached at the 10:30 Mass on the Real Presence.⁶²

Irish sociability and interest in politics continued to characterize a large segment of the parish. The Erin Fraternal Association annually celebrated St. Patrick's Day and July Fourth, assisting at Mass and then banqueting. In 1830 the association invited several New York societies to celebrate July Fourth in Brooklyn, begin-

ning with services at St. James'. After the event the New Yorkers wrote:

They invited us to come over and celebrate the Anniversary with them; paid our expenses in crossing and recrossing the river; opened the Temple of Catholic Worship for our accommodation; and then, generously gave, to assist our expenses in the city, their share of the collection, taken up for our mutual benefit. After so noble an example of disinterestedness, had we appropriated to our own use any part of the money, we should have felt ourselves unworthy of the hospitality we had enjoyed.

They therefore gave their share, \$28, to the Brooklyn orphans.⁶³ In 1835 the association was chartered as a mutual-aid society. The entrance fee was \$5.00, with dues of 25 cents per month; allowance for sickness was \$3.00 weekly, and for burial, \$25. Only Irishmen and their descendants could join the organization since its purpose was to unite "in amity and peace" Irish "sojourners in a strange land." ⁶⁴

In 1833 the organization known as the Friends of Ireland was revived in Brooklyn and every week for the next few years "most numerous and highly respectable meetings" were held. Its members sent addresses to the people of England and Ireland and heard flaming speeches extolling liberty and denouncing the British Union and all Tories.⁶⁵

It was at the beginning of the pastorate of Father Walsh that two far-reaching events in the life of the Brooklyn Church transpired. They were the formation of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society and the coming of the Sisters of Charity.

The Orphan Asylum Society was organized in October, 1829, largely through Peter Turner's influence. The unpretentious record of its origin, written shortly after the event, stated:

In the year 1829, a number of individuals, well aware of the value and importance of Orphan Asylums, believing the time to be not far distant, when an institution of the kind would be absolutely necessary in Brooklyn, and that it would meet a ready support from the benevolent of the place, organized a Society with the intent and objects as stated in the Constitution—thus, although their means were small, making a beginning, hoping for the best for the future.

Mr. Peter Turner was unanimously appointed President, and a Constitution and By-Laws drafted and presented by him, were adopted by the Society.⁶⁶

The organization began to function and was formally given a name when, on "March 25, 1830 a numerous and respectable meeting of the Roman Catholics of the Village convened in the schoolroom attached to St. James' Church for the purpose of establishing a Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum in the Village of Brooklyn." Father Walsh was asked to preside and the meeting "Resolved the persons present form themselves into a Society as a more Certain means of accomplishing the Object of the meeting, and that the said Society be known as the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society of Brooklyn."⁶⁷ Peter Turner was elected president, Thomas Mooney, secretary, and George McCloskey, treasurer. Dr. Thorne succeeded Turner in 1833 after the constitution was changed to allow a Protestant to hold office.

The Orphan Asylum Society was the first of its kind in Brooklyn.⁶⁸ It planned to assign its first appropriation for "the purchase of ground whereon to build an Orphan Asylum"; and its next, "for the erection or purchase of a suitable building for an Orphan Asylum." However, the ambitions of the society exceeded its means, for by March 13, 1831, the money paid into its treasury amounted only to \$161.50, and it was obliged in April to send two children to the public almshouse.⁶⁹

Father Walsh, however, had accumulated funds enough to purchase during that March the first piece of property on the western side of Jay Street.⁷⁰ He planned to erect there not only an orphanage but a girls' academy as well. The next month, in response to his invitation, Father Power came to preach a charity sermon, "the proceeds to go toward establishment of a Female Literary Institution under the direction of the Sisters of Charity."⁷¹ The sermon was attended by crowds of New Yorkers and the collection was very liberal.

The second far-reaching event at the beginning of Father Walsh's pastorate occurred on May 3, 1831. On that day, Sister Rose White and Sister Scholastica, followed shortly by Sister Mary Teresa Green, left Emmitsburg for Brooklyn. They established residence at 211 Fulton Street near Concord.⁷² They probably took in a few pupils and travelled daily, as well, to teach at St. James'.⁷³

Meanwhile, Father Walsh secured additional land opposite the

church and the year after the sisters came to Brooklyn, proceeded to build what was described as a house for the permanent use of the sisters. The pastor's plan and something of his financial difficulties appear in a letter that his curate, Moran, wrote at that time to John B. Purcell, later archbishop of Cincinnati, apologizing for his inability to repay a loan of \$10.00:

I saw Mr. Walsh could not spare any money, since he had just purchased 3 lots of ground opposite his Church, on which he has a house already nearly erected for the 'Sisters'—he intends to make it over to the parish with the proviso that it will never be alienated from the Sisters of Charity. It is a praiseworthy undertaking and will be a permanent station for the Sisters. It has taken not only all the dollars he had himself but also all he could get by donations.⁷⁴

While the building was in progress, Walsh informed the Orphan Asylum Society that at a later date it could "erect a building for orphans on the lot adjoining the building on the south side."⁷⁵ In the spring of 1833, the convent completed, the sisters moved in.⁷⁶ It was a two-story-and-basement structure and was located at 188 Jay Street.⁷⁷

Despite Father Walsh's intention to found a Female Literary Institution, the building served from the outset as convent, orphanage, and boarding academy and was known until 1839 as St. Mary's Asylum.⁷⁸ Bishop Dubois referred to it in 1836 as an orphanage containing "only a small number of orphan girls, and is, properly speaking, a school for poor children. It has no resources except charity."⁷⁹ The school seems never to have had more than five boarders,⁸⁰ each paying \$100 yearly, and a few day-scholars. In 1835 it was reported that 105 children were attending the institution.⁸¹ But we may suppose that the majority of them were taught by the sisters in the church basement. Of this private school "A Protestant" wrote in 1835:

... for 3 or 4 years a school has been taught in this city by a few most worthy and exemplary ladies belonging to the Roman Catholic Church. It consists mostly of the children of the poorer classes. . . . It is sincerely to be desired that no unworthy prejudice or bigotry will hinder those who call themselves Christians from patronizing an institution which is eminently useful to a large and needy class of our inhabitants.⁸²

In the same year that this unexpected tribute appeared, the

first Brooklyn-born girl known to have become a religious, entered the Sisters of Charity at Emmitsburg.⁸³ Apparently, the good example of these "most worthy . . . ladies" had affected more persons than the writer quoted above.

St. Mary's Asylum would seem to have reached its maximum capacity in 1838, when four sisters and 18 orphans, but no boarders, were reported.⁸⁴ For their services the sisters received from the Orphan Asylum Society \$100 annually, \$48 of which they sent to their motherhouse.⁸⁵

Probably John Murray continued in the meanwhile to teach the boys of the parish in the basement of the church. His salary of \$60 annually was increased to \$150 in 1832.⁸⁶ The following advertisement in 1835 may indicate that a second male teacher was sought because of increased attendance or Murray's resignation: "Wanted a Teacher for the School attached to St. James R.C. Church in Brooklyn City. To one possessing the necessary qualifications as to character and ability, a yearly salary will be given, payable quarterly and guaranteed by the Board of Trustees of said Church." ⁸⁷

To support his school and orphanage, Father Walsh resorted to various devices which occasionally enlisted the contributions of some Protestants, including village officials. These offerings were especially gratifying in those days of anti-Catholic feeling. In 1836 Father John Power delivered another lecture, or charity sermon, as it was called, and raised \$485. The directors of the asylum acknowledged their gratitude to the non-Catholics who had assisted. The *Star*, despite its bias at that time, gave a glowing account on October 10, and two weeks later in mellow strain it wrote, "We cannot refrain from remarking on this occasion how vain and futile are the efforts of intolerance and bigotry directed against the citizens of this our blessed Republic, a people so generally admired by the whole world for their philanthropy and true Christian charity." ⁸⁸ A similar lecture the following year by Father Richard Waters, who had just come to St. James' as an assistant, secured \$267.63.⁸⁹ Other inducements were offered, such as a ball at Washington Hall in 1837, and in 1838 a concert and an exhibition of paintings, both at Brooklyn Lyceum.⁹⁰ The most popular means, however, of raising funds was the church fair.

sponsored generally by the Ladies' Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society. The first such affair was held in 1835, in the room of the Common Council at the Apprentices' Library.⁹¹ Others followed, including one at the Brooklyn Lyceum in September, 1837, "to build a home for orphans on ground donated for the purpose."⁹²

For a long time, in fact, a new and larger orphanage had been necessary. From the beginning, the orphanage at St. James' had crowded out the girls' academy and encroached on the convent quarters. There was, moreover, growing demand for a parish school and a girls' academy in the newer southwest section of the young city.

The situation was met in the fall of 1837 by Cornelius Heeney with a gift of 13 lots to the Orphan Asylum Society for an orphanage. The indenture, made on October 30, revealed the donor's mind. It read: ". . . in consideration of the sum of love and affection he [Heeney] hath for orphan children and the care and regard he hath for protecting and educating orphan children and in further consideration of the sum of one dollar."⁹³ The land lay in the recently formed parish of St. Paul and was adjacent to the property of that church. It measured 100 feet on Clinton Street and ran 315 feet east along the south side of Congress Street. Building contracts were signed in September, 1837, and Gamaliel King was engaged to finish the building by June, 1838. It was not completed, however, until that fall. It was a stone structure that fronted 27 feet on Congress Street and extended 50 feet in depth. It had a basement, two stories, an attic, and a piazza. Later the grounds were partly enclosed and linden trees planted.⁹⁴

Father Walsh hoped to secure additional sisters for the new asylum, retaining those at St. James' for the parish school.⁹⁵ Regrettably, the community could spare no more religious and those at St. James' parish vacated St. Mary's Asylum and moved into the new orphanage in St. Paul's parish about November 1, 1838. However, Patrick Murray was engaged to drive two of them daily to and from the St. James' school.⁹⁶

The pastor was dissatisfied and in April, 1839, he proposed that the Orphan Asylum Society return to the parish the lot south of the former St. Mary's Asylum, which he had given it for an

orphanage. He now planned to erect there a building "for the use of the sisters who are to instruct the children of St. James in the school attached to St. James Church."⁹⁷ The real estate was transferred that August and some years later a building of similar design was added to the southern side of the Jay Street asylum. But the sisters never again resided there. It would serve later as a residence for Bishop Loughlin and after 1869 would be numbered 250 Jay Street.⁹⁸ In fact, on May 7, 1839, Mother Rose White, the Emmitsburg superior, declined to make St. James' a separate establishment, telling Father Walsh she could not spare a single sister for St. James', much less send four. Father William Hickey, S.S., the Emmitsburg director, wrote to the Orphan Asylum Society in the same strain and suggested that a carriage be furnished to convey the sisters to and from St. James' school whenever they wished.⁹⁹ In October, however, the community felt free to agree to undertake an independent free school at St. James', provided no boarders were admitted. Accordingly, Sister Ursula Mattingly and Sister Mary Alexis Rayhice and Sister Mary Eliza Dougherty arrived the next month. Until 1842 these sisters lived at 144 and then at 161 Jay Street.¹⁰⁰ In 1841 when Father Power gave a charity sermon for its benefit, about 200 girls were being taught "gratuitously under the unremitting care of the Sisters" in the Female Free School of St. James.¹⁰¹

Meanwhile, probably by the summer of 1839 Father Walsh took over the former orphanage as a rectory.¹⁰² Two years later, to the surprise of most of his parishioners, he resigned from the parish to enter the Trappist Monastery of Mt. Melleray in Ireland, "for the purpose of devoting the remainder of his life more strictly to the service of God." He took leave of his congregation on Sunday, August 22, 1841. Trustees and people crowded the church at a subsequent meeting at which they tendered him a testimonial and paid his expenses to Europe.¹⁰³

He had protected his flock at St. James' from schism and against the enemies of their Faith. He had laid the foundations of the Church on Long Island. First Flushing, then, in 1832, Sag Harbor had seen the holy rites; in 1835, Astoria and Smithtown; in 1838, St. Paul's, St. Mary's, Williamsburg, and Jamaica; in 1840, Huntington and, about the same time, Westbury; in 1841, the

German congregation in Williamsburg. The year he left, there were three churches on Long Island with resident pastors and at least two assistants.

But Father Walsh's absence from the diocese proved only temporary. "His love for souls drew him back" and in 1843 he became pastor of St. Paul's Church in Harlem. For nine years that parish flourished under his watchful care. There he died on August 8, 1852. Bishop Andrew Byrne of Little Rock, Arkansas, eulogized him at the funeral held at St. Patrick's Cathedral. Bishop James Roosevelt Bayley of Newark held a high opinion of him and his own bishop, John Dubois, had said of him "that of all the clergy of this diocese Father Walsh was *primus inter optimos*." ¹⁰⁴

The relocation of the orphanage has already acquainted the reader with the establishment of the second parish on Long Island, that of St. Paul. It was organized to care for the growing number of Catholics living in the southwestern part of the new city. The locality was described as that "most flourishing part of the city which is a short distance from the new south ferry and railroad." ¹⁰⁵ Cornelius Heeney, who once had offered land there for St. James' Church, offered it again in 1835 for a second church and the offer was accepted. Accordingly, on September 1, 1836, Heeney deeded to the trustees of St. James' Church a parcel of land running from the southwest corner of Court and Congress Streets south 112 feet and west 150 feet. ¹⁰⁶ The site lay almost a mile southwest of St. James' Church.

The building committee, headed by Peter Turner, selected Gamaliel King as architect and in the summer of 1836 they awarded the building contract to James Harper. ¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, no sooner had the brick walls risen to their full height when they were blown down by a severe storm on December 14. ¹⁰⁸ It was a heavy loss that evoked expressions of sympathy in the press. But as the dust settled, it was prophesied that the "spirited inhabitants" would "cause forthwith a more substantial as well as more splendid edifice to arise on its ruins." ¹⁰⁹ When finished a year later, the brick Gothic church was one of the largest in the city, measuring 100 by 72 feet. Columns, pedestals, and capitals flanked the Court Street entrance, and the front wall carried marble slabs carved with scriptural texts. ¹¹⁰

The dedication ceremony on January 21, 1838, brought Bishop Dubois to pontificate and Bishop Hughes to preach.¹¹¹ Father Richard Waters was placed in charge and took up residence on Atlantic Street near Smith.¹¹² Heeney had asked that Brooklyn-born Father John McCloskey, recently returned from Rome, be made pastor but the trustees had already requested Waters; and McCloskey, on the advice of Hughes, declined to allow his name to be proposed. Unfortunately, the relations between Waters and the trustees soon deteriorated and he was removed at their request in June, 1839.¹¹³ What the trouble was does not appear. An undated protest concerning parish temporalities was sent to Bishop Hughes by some 80 parishioners of St. Paul's as "deputys from the many" against "the clergyman."¹¹⁴ Thus St. Paul's, too, was born with difficulties but the travail was not so bitter or protracted as that suffered by the mother church, St. James'.

July 1, 1839, Bishop Dubois named the Augustinian, Father Nicholas O'Donnell as pastor, and as assistant, O'Donnell's fellow religious and kinsman, Father James O'Donnell. On the 16th the bishop gave the church to the Augustinian community for the exercise of the ministry at his good pleasure.¹¹⁵ The priests rented living quarters in Atlantic Street near Smith¹¹⁶ and shortly afterwards Father Nicholas described the situation:

It is a fine airy place, and as a summer residence delightful. Our house is situated in about the centre of Brooklyn—I mean as it stands on paper; but, though we have fine houses scattered 'far between' along the streets that stretch out on either side, we are half a mile from the city proper and were it not for the lamps and paved highways I should fancy myself in the country altogether.

Our house is large and finished in the finest style of modern improvement. The rent is \$400.00 and next year the landlord says it will be rented for \$500.00. But it is too large, too grand, too dear, too far from the Church and too everything for us, so we shall have to move, when all the world here are moving next May, to a more suitable residence.

Our district embraces a circuit of from seven to seventeen miles in diameter. The [Flatbush] Almshouse is five miles distant from us and we have frequent calls to that receptacle of human misery in every form. Besides, we are required to attend baptisms in the home of the parents; and the fact is we cannot do without a horse and gig . . . [but] we go afoot and have no horse.

St. Paul's Church given the Augustinians by the Bishop, is larger and more splendid than St. Mary's, Philadelphia. . . . [It] was finished

only two years since, and is, of course, deeply in debt. It will afford us only a meagre support for some time, But that is of no consequence in comparison to the objects we have in view.¹¹⁷

Under these two remarkable men the parish grew rapidly in numbers and in organization. They promoted spiritual, cultural, benevolent, and temperance societies that were well advertised in the press. The presence and interest of Heeney and the Parmentiers also lent prestige to the parish although most of the people were in very modest circumstances.¹¹⁸ The sisters continued their orphan care and in 1839 were teaching 150 girls in the free basement-school, while the boys had a male teacher.¹¹⁹ A small cemetery lay between the orphanage and the church. Heeney reserved a section for himself, the Parmentiers, and the Sisters of Charity. For a time, burial plots were offered to the parishioners, as we gather from the following advertisement published by the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society: “. . . a number of lots for family burying vaults adjoining St. Paul's Church, Court St. The price for the present is \$50 for each lot 9 x 16 feet. For information apply to Mr. Halligan, at residence of Cornelius Heeney, Esq. at or near South Ferry, Brooklyn.”¹²⁰ Most of the baptisms and marriages celebrated at the parish were administered by Father Nicholas, while Father James regularly brought the consolations of religion to the Catholics of Flatbush, Williamsburg, Jamaica, and Sag Harbor.

Biographical reference, however brief, to Cornelius Heeney and the Parmentier family must be made in any account of early Brooklyn Catholicism.

Heeney was born in Kings County, Ireland, in 1754 and died a bachelor in Kings County, Brooklyn, on May 3, 1848. He came to America in 1784, secured employment in New York, and became a fellow employee with and partner of John Jacob Astor. The partnership was dissolved in 1795.

While living in New York City, Heeney served in the Assembly from 1818 to 1822. He helped organize St. Peter's parish, of which he was a trustee, as well as the New York Literary Institute of Anthony Kohlmann, S.J. St. Patrick's parish, school, and cemetery, the Sisters of Charity, the Religious of the Sacred Heart, and the Catholic press were among his New York beneficiaries. He

purchased his Brooklyn place of 17 acres, bounded by the East River, Amity, Congress, and Court Streets, in 1805 for a summer residence, and after the great New York fire in 1835 he made it his permanent home. He founded the Brooklyn Benevolent Society in 1845, to administer his estate after death.¹²¹

Andrew Parmentier was born in Belgium in 1780 of a noble Walloon family. He married his cousin Sylvie Parmentier of Louvain in 1813. Two of their five children lived to maturity. He came to Brooklyn with his wife and daughter Adele in 1824. Offered the superintendency of the Elgin Botanic Garden in New York, he purchased instead a triangular plot of 25 acres in Brooklyn. The property extended from the vicinity of Flatbush and Atlantic Avenues almost to Vanderbilt Avenue along which it ran from Atlantic to St. Mark's Avenues. Parmentier's Horticultural and Botanic Garden became famous throughout the United States and Canada; his name has been immortalized on a boulder at the Brooklyn Botanic Garden. After his death on November 26, 1830, Mrs. Parmentier looked after the children, Adele and Rosine, who was born in Brooklyn in 1829, and carried on the business until 1834, when she sold it. To their new home at 342 Bridge Street came many famous people, such as Bishop Dubois, Fathers Varela and Pise, and the Indian missionary Pierre de Smet, S.J. They were visited also by religious on their way to found American communities. Among these were Father Edward Sorin of Notre Dame, Mother Theodore Guerin and the Sisters of Providence, the Little Sisters of the Poor, and Madam Gallitzin of the Religious of the Sacred Heart. The family was active in the parishes of both St. James and St. Paul.

Adele Parmentier married Edward Bayer at Brooklyn's first Nuptial Mass celebrated at St. Paul's on September 8, 1841.¹²² As Madame Bayer, she became a well-known and saintly social worker, at City Hospital, Long Island College Hospital, and Marine Hospital. A plaque at the Navy Yard commemorates her as a "Guardian Angel of the Sailors."

Rosine was also active in charity. The last of her family, she died on January 30, 1908, leaving the bulk of her estate to charities. Their home, left to the Sisters of St. Joseph, became St. Joseph's Commercial High School.¹²³

BROOKLYN UNDER ARCHBISHOP HUGHES

THE STORY OF THE CHURCH IN BROOKLYN and, indeed, in the United States during the 1840's and 1850's is closely linked with the life and administration of the fourth bishop of New York, John Hughes, during that period. For these decades were perhaps that bishop's most active and influential years.

He was born on a small farm in Annalaghan, Ulster, in 1797, and after a slight education, secured despite penal laws, and some farm employment, he joined his father and brother at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, whither they had gone in 1817. He became a gardener at Mount St. Mary's College, in nearby Emmitsburg, and in 1820 entered the seminary. He left the Mount with Father Dubois on October 6, 1826—himself to be ordained a priest, in Philadelphia on October 15 by Bishop Conwell, and Dubois to be consecrated as Bishop of New York.¹

As a priest in the diocese of Philadelphia, Father Hughes subdued a trustee revolt and became nationally prominent through his debate with the Presbyterian, Reverend John A. Breckenridge. In November, 1837, he was named auxiliary bishop to Bishop Dubois. On January 7, 1838, in the first such ceremony to be held in New York, he was consecrated by the bishop of New York with Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of Philadelphia and Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick of Boston assisting.² Almost immediately the burden of the whole diocese fell upon him.

The United States at that time was entering on a period of unprecedented expansion. In the decade beginning 1840 the population increased from 17,069,453 to 23,191,876. Great folk movements throughout the country were taking place from the

East and Middle West to the shores of the Pacific. The Oregon Territory, Texas, and the Mexican cession added more than one-third of the present area of the United States. A network of railroads was being laid east of the Mississippi. Another epoch of travel opened when the 234-foot side-wheeler *Great Western*, two weeks out of Liverpool, docked in New York on April 24, 1838. The country was still 90 per cent agricultural, but in 1849 it manufactured nearly \$1,000,000,000 worth of goods. Orators spoke of manifest destiny and saw bright visions of the country's glory; but Father Joseph Cretin observed after visiting New York that "Americans are becoming proud . . . about their railroads, about their steamships, at the sight of these large cities. . . . They are people whom one must handle very delicately." ³

European poverty, crop failures, and political disturbances were bringing crowded ships on every tide to American shores and especially to the harbor of New York. In the decade beginning 1841 there came 1,713,251 immigrants, of whom nearly 46 per cent were Irish and 26 per cent German.⁴ Some of them endured corporal punishment at the hands of brutal skippers; more of them suffered ship fever and starvation.⁵ The heavy burden of immigrant care fell upon the Catholic Church as well as the state. Immigrant societies, notably the Irish Emigrant Society founded in 1841, and, beginning in 1847, the State Board of Emigration, did what they could, but the foreign governments showed little concern.

Most of the immigrants had been farmers, but whereas the Germans brought a few dollars and a plan of action, the Irish had little of either. In general, the Germans were equipped with a better education than the Irish, who had been deprived of that advantage by English misrule. The majority of the Germans pushed on to the West, while those who stayed in New York City went to the East Side and thence some crossed over to Williamsburg and Queens. They established small industries and farms or opened grocery stores and saloons. Most of the Irish remained in the seaboard cities and secured employment on docks and in factories or laid sewers and opened streets. In 1850 New York County had 240,989 aliens and was 50 per cent foreign; while of

Kings County it was said that every third person spoke in a German dialect or with a brogue.⁶

Reaction to immigrants continued generally unfavorable. They were greeted with the usual epithets of "pauper" and "criminal," but again the charges were true of only a small minority,⁷ and we may adopt the judgment that "Foreigners received more rigorous justice than natives. . . . They drank . . . more openly. . . . There was strife between Germans and Irish, sometimes obviously stimulated by employers . . . in search of cheaper labor."⁸ The Germans, in turn, suffered the stigma of "radical," justly fastened, likewise, on only a few of their number. Some comment on the Irish was bitter: "The Irish . . . too idle and vicious to clean and cultivate land and earn a comfortable home, dump themselves down in our large villages and towns, crowding the meaner sort of tenements and filling them with wretchedness, filth and disease . . . what are they but mere marketable cattle?"⁹ Brownson outraged the Irish with compliments that stung, such as the following:

We know well the Irish Catholics of the United States and that the great body of them are most grossly misunderstood and most vilely slandered by our no-popery countrymen. The great majority of them are quiet, modest, peaceful and loyal citizens, adorning religion . . . enriching the country . . . [but] hanging loosely on to their shirts is . . . a noisy, drinking and brawling rabble . . . taken to represent the whole Irish Catholic body.¹⁰

These and similar criticisms revealed the "state of barbarism" and the social unrest and readjustment of those throbbing years.¹¹ The turbulent times were accompanied also by a spirit of reform and conscientious self-improvement through lectures, lyceums, and books. At the same time also, the greatest reform movement, abolition, began moving from the realm of moral preachment into politics and toward war.

New York City, a microcosm of America, now had become the nation's great two-way transfer point and classification yard for men, ideas, and goods. Its superb port, abundance of labor, nearness to coal, and access to the expanding West were making it the market place and financial center for half the nation. Castle Garden, largest place of assembly in America, bounded the city on the south. At the city's northern edge lay Bryant Park, rostrum

for reformers and the scene in 1853 of the first great American fair.¹² In between the Park and Castle Garden lay the splendor and poverty of the metropolis called for some years now the City of Gotham,¹³ with its teeming life and its aspirations and tragedies reported in the daily press. It was choked with traffic, "as noisy as Paris," and "rebuilt about once in ten years."¹⁴ Built up almost solidly to 14th Street by 1840, it accelerated its northward pace and in the ensuing decade grew two-thirds again as large, until it numbered 515,417 in population.

Shortly after his consecration, Bishop Hughes had written that ". . . all here is quiet and peaceable. But the harvest of missionary labour is immense, and such confusion and bustle!"¹⁵ These contrasts would characterize New York for the rest of the bishop's days and long afterward. Straightway, Hughes stood forth as one of the greatest churchmen of his age, without fear, affectation, or guile. In the day of Clay, Webster, and Calhoun, scarcely anyone spoke so directly and effectively to the American people as he did. His statesmanlike grasp of the genius of the Republic was recognized by President James K. Polk, who tried unsuccessfully to have him undertake a mission to Mexico at the outbreak of war in 1846; by President Abraham Lincoln, at whose request he travelled to Europe and helped to secure the neutrality of France during the Civil War; and by Governors William H. Seward and Horatio Seymour, of whom the latter was assisted by Hughes in suppressing the New York draft riots in 1863. The Catholic people idolized him.¹⁶

The administration of Bishop Hughes during the period 1839 to 1853 falls into two contemporaneous categories: his controversies and his building up of the Church.

His position on the school question profoundly influenced the educational policies of both State and Church. That problem had its origin in 1805 when public funds were first given to Church schools, and the Free or Public School Society, a private corporation, began operation. In 1824 this anti-Catholic¹⁷ society secured control of all public funds for education and excluded denominational schools from them.

There the matter rested despite protests,¹⁸ until 1840, when Governor Seward recommended the establishment of schools for

the children of foreigners " 'in which they may be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves and professing the same faith.' " ¹⁹ This smooth method of assimilating foreigners, which Catholics had been pursuing at their own expense, encouraged them to petition the Common Council and the Legislature for a share of public funds. Regrettably, however, the Methodist, Baptist, Dutch Reformed, and Presbyterian Churches protested, aligning themselves with the Public School Society, and the Catholic petition was denied.²⁰

After his return from abroad that July, the bishop of New York published an address of the Roman Catholics to their fellow citizens. The address charged the society with irreligion and asked for justice. A hearing was appointed before the Common Council for October 29 and 30. Bishop Hughes, Fathers Power and Pise, and Mr. Thomas O'Connor were opposed by a battery of lawyers and Protestant ministers. The Methodist ministers, Messrs. Peck, Bond, and Bangs, attacked the Church; Dutch-Reformed Dr. Knox insisted that public schools be kept Protestant; while Spring, a Presbyterian minister, declared that he preferred "infidelity to Catholicism." The time was consumed in theological debate instead of answering Hughes' simple question: ". . . are the rights of this portion of the citizens violated or not? If so, is there in our hands the means to apply a remedy?" Again he asked: "Will you compel us to pay a tax from which we can receive no benefit, and to frequent schools which injure and destroy our religious rights?" ²¹ Although Catholics were ready to concede an official public supervision of their schools, the Common Council rejected their petition in January, 1841.²²

Another Catholic appeal to the State Legislature was tabled in May until after the election. In preparation for that event the Public School Society pledged both political parties to support its candidates. To save Catholics from that dilemma, Hughes approved an independent ticket four days before the election. As a result, the Democrats were split, the Whigs won, and both parties learned that Catholics could influence elections when moral and religious principles were at stake.²³

Finally in April, 1842, the Legislature extended to the city the General School Act, which placed the public schools under the

control of an elective city Board of Education and excluded private societies and denominational schools from public aid. By 1853 the Public School Society ceased to exist but the reform had little effect. The Board of Education was Protestant in membership, and Protestant religious practices prevailed in the schools.²⁴

Catholics then realized that in defiance of the laws, the schools would be used to weaken the faith of their children. Bishop Hughes thereupon declared: ". . . it will be necessary to build the school-house first, and the church afterward. Our fellow citizens . . . have attempted to divorce religion under the plea of excluding sectarianism. . . . I do not regard it as suited to a Christian land . . . however admirably it might be adapted to the social condition of an enlightened pagan."²⁵ As the bishop foretold, the tax-supported schools became increasingly secular while the parish public school, the most unique religious phenomenon in the New World, saved the faith of Catholic generations.²⁶

The unsuccessful attempts of Catholics to secure justice stimulated throughout the country a renewal of Nativism, which subjected the principle of toleration to severe and protracted tests. As a consequence it has been said that "Religious freedom reached its lowest ebb in this country between 1843-1846. . . . All our traditions of civil and religious equality were overthrown apparently beyond all hope of saving them."²⁷

As in the preceding decade, there was a strange misalliance of Christian ministers and anti-Catholic organizations from the American Protective Society in 1844 to the Know-Nothings in 1852. The rabid *North American Protestant* was the chief of the revived anti-Catholic religious journals.²⁸ Nativist principles, excluding foreign-born from public office and postponing their voting until they had completed 21 years of residence, were reaffirmed. Once again, mobs marched through Irish quarters and threatened Catholic churches. Hughes counselled his people to restraint and avoidance of provocation. In May, 1844, Philadelphia Catholics suffered grievously during an unprovoked eight-day reign of terror that destroyed five Catholic buildings, including two churches, 30 Catholic homes, and many lives.²⁹ When the bishop learned the mob planned to meet in New York he warned Catholics away. Being advised that the law did not compensate mob damage, he

declared that in this circumstance the law then intended that the citizen may defend his own property. He next called on Mayor Robert H. Morris and warned against the demonstration. Then fearing that the apathy of the public authorities would fail to cope with the threatened outrages, he placed armed men about his churches. There were no processions or riots.³⁰ During the period, however, Catholics were almost entirely excluded from any voice in public affairs; moreover, in the public institutions and armed forces of the country, they continued to be deprived of the consolations of their religion.³¹ Reviewing the situation later, Hughes declared that if Catholics had defended themselves there would have been no mob outrages; others said, less wisely, it seems, there would have been no mobs if he had not fought back against the bigots.³²

Six months later, the bishop gave a masterly analysis of the contemporary American religious scene. American Catholics, although from different nations, were one religious family, whereas American-born Protestants disagreed with each other. Their ministers, not daring to preach doctrine or good works, denounced popery.³³ Again, in 1850, he lectured on the decline of Protestantism—the politician in the pulpit, irreligious education, the errant daughter pulling down on her own head the Christian temple. Hundreds of non-Catholic pulpits and newspapers reverberated with angry denial, but his charges proved truer with every passing year.³⁴

His first controversy within the Church was his disposal of the rebellious trustees of St. Patrick's. Not until 1850 were those at St. Peter's mastered; and four times he was obliged to interdict St. Joseph's Church.³⁵

As the most prominent Catholic in the country, Bishop Hughes was constantly attacked by the secular press, but he was always ready to reply. The worst offenders were Horace Greeley of the *Tribune*, William Stone of the *Commercial Advertiser*, and James Gordon Bennett of the *Herald*. The Bishop was obliged publicly to castigate the last as "an incarnation of demonism" running amok "on the highways of civilized society."³⁶

The Catholic press of the country, which grew from 16 weeklies in 1840 to 36 in 1855, gave great service during the controversies.

It kept the Catholic body conscious of their duties and power and fostered literary talent. Under the leadership of Hughes, some of the Catholic papers became aggressive and indulged in the personal journalism of that day; some mixed politics with religion; others ran afoul of ecclesiastical authority; but all made possible the Catholic press of today.

The New York *Weekly Register and Catholic Diary*, begun by Schneller and Pise in October, 1833, lasted three years. It was succeeded in 1839 by the *Catholic Register*, which next year combined with the *Freeman's Journal*, then a year old. The *Catholic Expositor and Literary Magazine* (1842 to 1844) was edited by Fathers Pise and Varela. Bishop Hughes bought the *Freeman's Journal* in 1842 and used it for some of his controversial writings, notably for his best prose, "Kirwan Unmasked," directed against the attacks of Nicholas Murray in the *New York Observer*.³⁷ In 1848 the bishop sold the *Journal* to James A. McMaster, who remained its proprietor and editor until his death in Brooklyn in 1886. McMaster had strong convictions and at times he wrote in a violent spirit, but his journal had a long and influential career. In his controversies he debated against several bishops, including his own metropolitan. President Lincoln, the Irish, secessionists, abolitionists, and Know-Nothings also felt his lash.³⁸

Bishop Hughes, besides crossing literary swords with McMaster, held controversies with other members of the Faith, among them Thomas D'Arcy McGee, who, with his *Nation*, represented the revolutionary and anti-clerical left wing of the Young Ireland movement. Under the prelate's attacks the *Nation* was suspended and McGee left New York.³⁹ Orestes Brownson came into direct conflict with Archbishop Hughes when, in 1855, he moved to New York from Boston with his *Quarterly Review* which he had begun before his conversion to Catholicism. Brownson was the greatest literary figure of the day and the foremost American Catholic convert. Friendly with the New England intellectuals, he knew the Protestant American mind as few others did. Catholics found in him a champion superior in intellectual power to any in the land. He sympathized with all good causes, but his irascibility alienated many people.⁴⁰

Paralleling Bishop Hughes' constant defense of the Faith was

the great spread of Catholicism in the United States. From 1841 to 1850 over 700,000 Catholic immigrants arrived. With natural increase and converts, they brought the number of Faithful to 1,606,000, almost tripling the number in 10 years.⁴¹

This growth was nowhere so evident as in the diocese of New York where, in 1844, Bishop Hughes was able to consecrate John McCloskey as his auxiliary, Andrew Byrne as bishop of Little Rock, and William Quarter as bishop of Chicago.⁴² In 1847 two new sees were created in New York—Albany, to which McCloskey went, and Buffalo, which received Bishop John Timon, C.M. Three years later, on July 19, 1850, Bishop Hughes himself was designated first archbishop of New York and metropolitan of the sees of Boston, Hartford, Albany, and Buffalo. In 1853 the sees of Brooklyn and Newark were formed and at the archbishop's death in 1864, he was metropolitan of eight suffragans in the states of New York and New Jersey and in all New England. To his successor in New York he bequeathed 150 priests, 85 churches, 3 colleges, 50 schools, and over 400,000 Faithful.

Early in his administration he wrote, ". . . the people are generally poor and yet look at the number of churches which they built exclusively from their own contributions." But he was forced to admit at the same time that "the progress of religion . . . is left far behind the progress of the Catholic population."⁴³ He failed in his effort to borrow money abroad, although the French mission society donated \$13,000 in 1840 and \$112,000 by 1866, mainly for French communities in New York.⁴⁴ The Ludwig Missionsverein sent \$10,000 from 1840 to 1844, and the Leopoldine Society sent \$1,500 in 1849. German and Austrian help was limited by unjust complaints that Bishop Hughes did not use the funds for German immigrants, as well as the belief that few Germans remained in New York.⁴⁵ Hughes organized the New York Church Debt Association in 1841 and collected \$17,000 the first year.⁴⁶ Again, in 1852, he organized the Auxiliary Church Building Association, for while there were by that time more churches, the Faithful had increased even more rapidly.⁴⁷

From abroad also Hughes sought with greater success to secure more clergy. In 1845 native-born priests constituted about nine per cent of his clergy and the Irish- and German-born, about 70

per cent.⁴⁸ Despite poverty, city restiveness, and the feebleness of Catholic life, Hughes gradually laid the foundations of a native diocesan clergy. In July, 1839, he bought 116 acres at Fordham for a college and seminary. There, two years later, he opened St. John's College with six students. Meanwhile, in 1840, he opened St. Joseph's Seminary in an old stone-building with four seminarists. He staffed it with the Vincentian Fathers Villanis, Anthony Penco, and A. Roadte, whom he secured from abroad. For a while during 1844 the theological department was located in the old Literary Institute on 50th Street. In the next year he began a new seminary building at Fordham. Then the Vincentians withdrew and the bishop secured the French Jesuits from St. Mary's College in Kentucky. They arrived in 1846 under the presidency of Father Augustus Thebaud, S.J., purchased the college property, and taught in both seminary and college. They continued at the seminary until 1856 when Hughes entrusted the institution to diocesan priests. By 1853 Lafargeville and Fordham had trained about 100 priests, including some Brooklynites.⁴⁹

The ecclesiastical legislation of the day highlighted the struggles, aspirations, and growth of the Church and shaped much of the succeeding policy. The bishop was in Europe during the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore of 1840, but at the subsequent assemblies he assumed some of the prominence which had characterized Bishop England's conduct in the councils before his death in 1842. The Fifth Provincial Council, held in 1843, dwelt upon the unique Catholic growth and the question of temperance. Three years later the Sixth Council petitioned the Holy See to insert "immaculate" in Our Lady's Mass and office of December 8 and that "Queen, conceived without original sin, pray for us," be added to her litany and they asked for the Immaculate Conception as patroness of the United States. In 1849 the Fathers of the Seventh Provincial Council petitioned the Holy See for a dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception and asked that New York be made a metropolitan see.⁵⁰

Bishop Hughes, meanwhile, held the first diocesan synod of New York in August, 1842, at St. John's College, Fordham. Among the 66 priests attending were six future bishops. Its legislation assimilated the diocese to the decrees of the Councils of Trent and

of Baltimore, condemned secret societies and trustee control of funds, and restored church discipline in the administration of the sacraments. The laity rejoiced, but the more suspicious Protestants were shocked at the sight of bishops and clergy enacting laws.⁵¹ The second synod of New York, held in 1848, promulgated the recent Baltimore decrees but published none of its own.⁵²

The First Plenary Council of Baltimore was held in May, 1852, under the presidency of Archbishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of Baltimore. It spoke for 34 dioceses, two vicars apostolic, 1,321 priests, and a Catholic population of 1,980,000. It was a unique gathering of pioneer bishops whose resourcefulness had been tested in a sea of troubles. The council wisely avoided politics and excluded debate on slavery. It petitioned the Holy See to form a number of new sees, including those of Newark and Brooklyn.⁵³

To no one more than Bishop Hughes is attributable the singular devotion to the Holy See displayed by American Catholics. This reverence became more manifest than ever with the beginning of the pontificate of Pius IX in 1846. Our government sent official congratulations to the Pontiff, and Horace Greeley at Broadway Tabernacle commended his progressiveness. But Italian Free Masons and the Young Italy party fomented revolution, and two years later the Pope was forced to flee to Gaeta in the kingdom of Naples. A wave of sympathy swept American Catholics. A purse of \$26,000 was sent to Pius IX and he was invited to America, as Hughes castigated the Italian "liberals," rousing Greeley's ire. Two years later the Pope was able to return to Rome where he proceeded to condemn the Communist Manifesto, to establish the hierarchy in England, and to issue the famous Syllabus of Errors, thus inaugurating a series of notable pontificates.⁵⁴

All this time, the Church in New York City and that metropolis itself were growing fast, but the Church in Brooklyn and the city of Brooklyn had begun to grow at an even faster rate.

By 1850 Kings County had 138,882 inhabitants⁵⁵ and the present Queens County had 18,593. The usual manifestations of growth were commented upon: "The opening of streets, the building of houses . . . churches and schools appear to be the chief occupation of our people."⁵⁶ Much of the marshy shore line was filled in and many of the city's hills were levelled. Stages travelled

in every direction out to Long Island's "puzzling and wretched roads." In 1844 the Long Island Rail Road was completed to Greenport, where until 1850 it connected by boat to Stonington, Connecticut, and the Boston trains. No trains ran on the Sabbath as an "important concession to correct public sentiment."⁵⁷

The opening of the Hamilton Avenue ferry in 1846 and of one at Montague Street in 1853 gave Brooklyn five waterborne links with New York. More business moved out toward Brooklyn's new City Hall, and personal and real estate tripled in value between 1840 and 1853 to \$68,000,000. Much of this was invested in shipping and in the construction of the Atlantic, Erie, and Brooklyn Basins and the Gowanus Canal.⁵⁸ The primitive facilities of the City Hospital, the newer Brooklyn Dispensary of 1846, and the Williamsburg Dispensary of 1851 were taxed by the many accidents, the unsanitary conditions, and the recurrent plague. The cholera of 1849 caused 642 deaths in Brooklyn, two-thirds of them among foreign-born Irish and Germans.⁵⁹ President Zachary Taylor ordered fasting and prayer, and Catholics were dispensed from abstinence.⁶⁰ Many, however, were able to indulge "the luxury of sea bathing and enjoyment of ocean air," travelling from Manhattan to Coney Island by steamer for 12½ cents. Among the professional entertainers of the winter season were Catholic names, some of them well known to Europe.⁶¹ The circulation of books and periodicals increased and schooling became more common, but, whereas there were over 35,000 children of school age in Brooklyn in 1852, less than one-fifth of them attended the 17 public schools, whose budget was \$88,000. Those schools used Protestant hymns, prayers, and books, and Brooklyn Catholics found this as intolerable as had Bishop Hughes.⁶²

The newspapers had become dailies by now and they printed more local news. A rival of the *Star* appeared when Henry C. Murphy began the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle and Kings County Democrat* in 1841. Ten years later it became the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. Henry McCloskey, an illustrious Catholic, became its editor.⁶³ In 1848 James Bennett began the Whig *Williamsburg Daily Times*, which later became the *Brooklyn Daily Times*.

With the passage of time, space grew more valuable and brick and stone began to supplant the earlier frame buildings. While

at mid-century very few of the original Dutch houses remained, yet the many shade trees and white houses in parts of the growing city gave it still the appearance of a country town. It was "much like Boston in the tone of its society, a little like Philadelphia in its general air, but it is like New York in nothing."⁶⁴ All told, Brooklyn was a pleasant place in which to live, and in the spring its cosmopolitan population could look forward, as did the editor of the *Eagle*, to the approach of summer when:

in all the blocks between Fulton St. and the Heights will lie a dreamy shady quiet, under the trees that line the walks there, and through the ample yards. Then Brooklyn will have its green robes about its shoulders, and its skirts will be not a little draggled with the wet dews when it walks out in the morning.⁶⁵

Brooklyn's conservative character was confirmed by the appellation, given it about 1825, of "City of Churches."⁶⁶ The Brooklyn pulpit, sometimes marred by sensationalism and diatribes, was an important element in the American scene. There was keen competition among the sects, for by 1853 they possessed 71 city churches, Methodist and Protestant Episcopal temples being the most numerous. The rest of Kings, Queens, and Suffolk had as many, but in those remote districts the churches of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists outnumbered those of all other communions.⁶⁷ The popular mind associated all immigrants, except Germans, with the "Irish church." Yet the "Roman" Church was truly catholic even then, for it was composed of various nationalities and was attracting yearly some native-born converts. Although segregated, the immigrants were constituting a successively larger part of Brooklyn life, and some Irish-American interests then current deserve recording here.

Sympathy with Ireland's struggle against English oppression was expressed during the 1840's by some half-dozen Brooklyn Irish Repeal Associations at frequent meetings attended by city officials, sometimes including, strangely enough, a Nativist mayor and Alden Spooner. The Irish at Williamsburg, Flushing, Jamaica, Rockaway, and Sag Harbor were also active. The agitation was widespread and won general American approval, and the release of Daniel O'Connell from prison was signalized by a great proces-

sion with a bonfire at Bergen Hill and Court Street on October 21, 1844.⁶⁸

Beginning in 1845, crop failure and famine began a 15-year visitation of Ireland. Under its impact 1,000,000 died, millions emigrated, and the population of that unhappy land ultimately fell from 8,000,000 to 4,000,000. While England was exporting Irish food, America sent immense food shipments to the stricken people. Bishop Hughes dispatched a diocesan relief collection and addressed a large gathering at the Brooklyn Institute for the same purpose in 1847, and that summer two extremely well-attended meetings were held at Fort Greene Park.⁶⁹

Irish sociability and local charity were furthered by benevolent societies whose memberships included, as usual, some non-Catholics. The old Erin Fraternal Benevolent Association held its first ball for widows and orphans in 1843.⁷⁰ The Emerald Benevolent Association met for the first time in 1839 and resolved on an annual ball to support the orphanage. The ball was held on February 7, 1839, with the purpose, as the association "humbly hope[d], that whilst enjoying rational and innocent amusement, some aid can be rendered to helpless humanity."⁷¹ From this organization in 1850 the St. Patrick Society was formed. The Shamrock Benevolent Society, begun in 1841, extended membership to all citizens, charged \$3.00 for initiation, 25 cents monthly dues and granted \$3.00 for sick allowance and \$25 for burial. Similar were the Emmet Benevolent Society, founded in 1847, and the Laborers' Union Beneficial Association of 1844, whose object was "Charity and National Greatness" and "Union for Happiness."⁷²

By 1853 the Kings County Irish had become a large and self-sufficient group with their own churches, schools, charitable organizations, and social and cultural life. Among them were some generally respected and prominent men of affairs.⁷³ More could not be expected of people who, until recently, had been deprived of rudimentary education and reduced to economic serfdom. But to many of their neighbors the Irish were useful menials who might not mingle with the ruling classes of the community or affect its tone. In 1853 only two Irish names appeared among 86 officers, trustees, and directors of the Brooklyn Institute, City Library, Hamilton Literary Association, and Association for Improv-

ing the Condition of the Poor. One Irish name appeared among 95 officers and directors of the city's banks; two among 35 members of the Board of Education; one among 15 school principals; none among 44 school committee-men; six among 71 members of the Kings County Medical Society; one among 50 trustees of the City Hospital and Dispensary; a half-dozen among 68 attorneys. The Irish vote was sought by the major parties, but while the "foreigners" displayed an aptitude for politics, they were rewarded with the smaller plums. In the entire city and county government 29 among 225 office-holders bore Irish names.⁷⁴ In the county militia 11 of 65 officers and at the Navy Yard seven of 66 employees were Irish.⁷⁵ Two years later, of some 480 officials elected or appointed to public office 40 with Irish names had minor posts; of some 140 bank trustees and officers of the library and literary associations 10 had Irish names; 22 of 325 attorneys were of Irish descent, as were 23 of 250 doctors.⁷⁶

Although St. James' parish experienced some relief with the establishment of St. Paul's, the mother parish continued to grow after the departure of Father Walsh in 1841. Father Charles Smith succeeded him, arriving at St. James' in June, 1841. He came from Albany where he had labored since 1828, and had among his altar boys young John Loughlin, fresh from Ireland. Neither pastor nor altar boy could then have foreseen that in the years to come the altar boy would succeed Smith as pastor of St. James' and become the bishop of Brooklyn. During his assignment in Brooklyn, Smith was aided occasionally by assistant priests ⁷⁷ who, as their predecessors before them, made missionary trips throughout the diocese. The regime of this third pastor of St. James' was marked by two considerable building operations—the enlargement of the church and the construction of the girls' school—both badly needed. After its reconstruction, little if anything could have remained of the old box-like church with its four Gothic windows along each side.

The improvement included a front vestibule, tower, spire, and transept with two additional side windows and a chancel. The resulting building was cruciform in shape and triple the size of the old structure, being about 80 feet wide and 115 feet long. It was the first work of Patrick Charles Keely, an architect destined to become famous during the next half-century.⁷⁸ A new wooden

altar carved by Keely was installed, and behind it was hung a painting of the Crucifixion.⁷⁹ Bishop Hughes blessed the structure on September 20, 1846.⁸⁰

John Murray of Chapel Street continued as sexton of the church until 1843, when James Moran succeeded him. That year, also, John H. Shanley began teaching the boys in the church-basement school. He also conducted a Male Evening School at 177 Jay Street which "offered opportunity to trades apprentices," while his wife kept a Female Day School at the same address.⁸¹ Of the other privately conducted, lay Catholic schools then in Brooklyn, Ellen Maroney's Young Ladies' Seminary in Jay Street, described as "facing the Catholic Church," has special interest for us.⁸²

While the church was being enlarged, Keely was also erecting a building "intended for the use of the Sisters as a young ladies' school."⁸³ It was about 25 feet wide and extended 50 feet north and south. It stood opposite the church and northwest of the old asylum now serving as the rectory. Before its Jay Street entrance lay an open space about 75 feet deep and 36 feet wide. Bishop Hughes blessed this building on the same day in 1846 that he blessed the reconstructed church.⁸⁴

The Sisters of Charity, however, never occupied the place, or "castle" as it came to be called. In fact, about 1842 they found it necessary to abandon their separate establishment at St. James'. They left their quarters at 161 Jay Street for the Congress Street convent, from which once more they travelled daily to St. James'.⁸⁵ Then, in 1846 they gave up St. James' altogether. This abandonment of their first Brooklyn mission was the result of a momentous change that occurred in the community itself.

Bishop Hughes, applying to Emmitsburg for more sisters, was informed, on July 20, 1846, that no more could be spared and that those in New York must cease caring for male orphans, a practice forbidden by the French congregation with which the community wished to affiliate. After some negotiations it was agreed to found a separate New York community. Of the 45 sisters then in New York, 33 elected to remain. They organized as the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, retaining the old rule and dress, but changing the Mother Seton headdress from white to black.⁸⁶

Father Smith now found himself in 1846 with a new girls' school, but no teachers for it. It seems reasonable to conclude that Ellen Maroney's Seminary for Young Ladies opposite the church was the first occupant of the new building. It was reported that the lady's "excellent capabilities and highly respectable connexions claim the suffrage of the residents of Brooklyn." She had a good primary school for girls and conducted piano lessons as well as evening classes for those unable to attend day classes.⁸⁷

Next year, Father Smith left the parish for the diocese of Boston. He became pastor at Eastport, Maine, and in 1848, of Lynn and Chelsea in Massachusetts. He died at the latter place on January 4, 1851.⁸⁸

Smith was followed at St. James' in 1847 by Father James McDonough, who came from a pastorate begun in 1843 at St. John's in Albany.⁸⁹ The population at St. James' and in the outlying settlements increased and kept McDonough and his assistant priests well occupied.⁹⁰ McDonough's Brooklyn administration was marked by the building of a boys' school, the coming to Brooklyn of the Christian Brothers, and the opening of Holy Cross Cemetery.

The school, a brick basement-and-upper-story, was built in 1851-1852 at the northeast corner of Jay Street and Stryker Court (Cathedral Place). It measured about 35 by 60 feet.⁹¹ To staff it, Father McDonough secured the Christian Brothers who had come to New York in 1848. Brother Isaiah headed the Brooklyn group which came daily by ferry from the Canal Street house, until in 1852 a dwelling was secured at 256 Pearl Street.⁹² In 1853 the brothers taught 500 pupils six days weekly, and the school boasted a band and was soon challenging public schools to competitive tests. McMaster declared the institution compared "favorably with the best of the ward schools. Internal arrangements are indicative of the moral difference attributed to Catholic over State godless education."⁹³

By 1849 St. James' Cemetery had room for no more interments and was accordingly closed. That year, Holy Cross Cemetery was acquired in Flatbush.⁹⁴ Father McDonough was the first priest to be buried there. Before he was laid to rest, he and Father Smith, who had preceded him, had seen additional congregations formed

in Kings County: Assumption in 1842; and, the year after that, Holy Cross in Flatbush and St. Patrick's on Kent Avenue; then, in 1846, St. Patrick's at Fort Hamilton and St. John the Evangelist's; three years later, St. Charles Borromeo's; St. Francis in the Fields in 1850; St. Mary, Star of the Sea, in 1851; the next year, St. Joseph's and St. Benedict's; and finally, in 1853, Immaculate Conception and St. Malachy's. Mass had also been celebrated for new congregations in Queens County: at St. Mary Star of the Sea, Far Rockaway, in 1847; at St. Patrick's in Glen Cove and at the Jericho Mission, in 1849; at St. Boniface's, Elmont, in 1852; and at St. Mary's, Manhasset, in 1853. New mission stations had been opened in Suffolk: Mass was celebrated in 1844 at Riverhead; five years later at Southold; and, in 1850, at Greenport and Babylon. By the end of 1853, Kings County had 12 resident pastors and seven curates. Three pastors and two assistants dwelt in Astoria, Flushing, and Jamaica; one pastor had dwelt briefly in Sag Harbor. There were about 14 members of three religious communities and 10 free parish schools in Kings County and one school at Flushing as well as orphanages at Holy Trinity and at St. Paul's.

Father McDonough rejoiced to hear of the erection of Long Island on July 29, 1853, into the new diocese of Brooklyn, but he did not live to see the organization of the new see. He died on October 5, 1853. Bishop-elect John Loughlin sang the Requiem of "the oldest priest in what was lately the Archdiocese of New York." "He was a friend of the Catholic schools" and had displayed "much zeal and fidelity in the service of religion." McDonough was a forthright character who sometimes scolded his people, but he wore well.⁹⁵

The parish of St. Paul under the Augustinian Fathers experienced a great growth and development. It served also as Father James O'Donnell's headquarters for his missionary journeys through Kings County and Central and Eastern Long Island.⁹⁶ After a relatively brief but brilliant service, both he and Father Nicholas O'Donnell left St. Paul's, James departing in the spring of 1844⁹⁷ and Nicholas in December, 1846.⁹⁸

It is difficult not to associate their departure with their disagreement with Bishop Hughes as to the meaning of Bishop Dubois' grant of St. Paul's to the Augustinians. We know that in 1844

Father John O'Dwyer, O.S.A., the prior at Philadelphia, had written his superior at Rome that John Hughes had stated Bishop Dubois did not have jurisdiction to assign the parish permanently. O'Dwyer declined to press the Augustinian claim lest the bishop withdraw diocesan faculties with consequent loss of income.⁹⁹ The Augustinians based their claim on a letter Dubois wrote on July 17, 1839, to Father Patrick Moriarty, O.S.A., then the Philadelphia prior. In the letter, Dubois declared that, as far as it lay in his power, St. Paul's was to be a church of the Order of St. Augustine with all the privileges which the churches of that order enjoyed elsewhere.¹⁰⁰ But this letter mentioned no perpetual grant, and the month after Dubois penned it, instructions arrived from Rome transferring the administration of the diocese from Dubois to Hughes. If the grant was conferred only at the good pleasure of the ordinary, as stated by Father Nicholas on July 16, 1839, in the baptismal register of St. Paul's, it was surely conditioned also by the good pleasure of his successor, John Hughes.¹⁰¹ The Augustinians, the first community of religious priests to dwell in Brooklyn, departed, therefore, in 1846, but they would return to the diocese 70 years later.

Father Joseph A. Schneller became the third pastor of St. Paul's, going there from St. Mary's, Albany, where he had been pastor. He was an able writer and controversialist and was frequently mentioned for the episcopacy. Despite some gruffness and eccentricities, he was loved by his parishioners.¹⁰² Among his curates was the remarkable Father Charles De Luynes.¹⁰³ In 1849, Schneller built the rectory, which served its purpose for the next 90 years, at the northwest corner of Congress and Court Streets.¹⁰⁴ He frescoed the church interior, added galleries, and planned a great steeple, but built only its tower.¹⁰⁵

The Sisters of Charity continued the orphanage and the church-basement free school for girls. Besides the free school, in 1847 they conducted a private school for girls under their care.¹⁰⁶ The boys were taught by Michael Burke, agent of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society, until 1853, when Michael R. Kenny became their teacher.¹⁰⁷ That year, 500 children attended the parish school.¹⁰⁸ The parish also had its complement of Catholic lay-conducted schools.¹⁰⁹

THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE OTHER PIONEER PARISHES

BEFORE 1840 the great majority of immigrants had settled in the parishes of St. James and St. Paul. During the next dozen years the growing Catholic population spread out from the city to less settled parts of Kings County and began building churches and even starting schools. At the same time, other Catholics were laying the foundations of pioneer parishes in present Queens and in Nassau and Suffolk Counties. Something of the beginnings of these parishes, prior to the coming in 1853 of the first bishop of Brooklyn, must now be recounted.

The third parish formed in Kings County lay within the town of Bushwick, a triangular district forming the northern border of the county and based on the East River and with its apex at East New York. Its population was thickest at the Grand Street ferry where Williamsburg had grown from a population of 1,007 in 1830 to a city of 40,000 in 1851.¹ The first Catholics to live there found employment in the lumberyards, turpentine factories, and ropewalks. To attend Mass, they travelled three miles over the Wallabout Causeway to St. James' or ferried to New York and then walked to St. Mary's on Sheriff Street. After 1831 this church was located at Ridge and Grand Streets.

The number of Catholics in this section was sufficient by 1836 or 1837 to warrant Father James Doherty coming from St. James' to offer Mass.² That sacred rite was first celebrated probably in an upper room on Fourth Street, now Bedford Avenue, near South Third Street.³ In 1839 Father James O'Donnell, O.S.A., just assigned to St. Paul's, began to serve the mission. The next year he

purchased some lots at North Eighth and First (now Kent Avenue) Streets and there erected "a handsome and commodious church."⁴ It was dedicated as St. Mary's and its adjacent cemetery was blessed by Bishop Dubois on June 27, 1840. That morning the bishop also confirmed about 30 children, and in the afternoon Father Felix Varela, the vicar general, organized a branch of the New York Temperance Association and pledged some 40 persons.⁵ Thereafter, until he left the diocese early in 1844, Father O'Donnell came for Sunday Mass and remained for Sunday school and vespers.⁶ Fathers William Hogan, O.S.A., and Philip Borgna, C.M., both from St. Paul's, succeeded him until September, when Father Sylvester Malone, newly ordained, became first resident-pastor, remaining until his death 55 years later.⁷

In 1845 Bishop Hughes enlarged the parish property and bought more lots a half-mile south on the east side of Second Street, now Wythe Avenue.⁸ Here, despite some local opposition, the bishop laid the cornerstone of another church on the new property on May 30, 1847. A year later he dedicated the building in honor of SS. Peter and Paul to avoid confusion with the St. Mary's located in New York City. It was Patrick Keely's first church, built of brick in Gothic design, measuring 63 by 104 feet, and with a wooden steeple 150 feet high.⁹ Malone next built a rectory on South Third Street and after holding school in the old church, he erected a school near the new church in 1851.¹⁰ The Sisters of St. Joseph succeeded the lay teachers in 1855 and the number of pupils was then estimated to range from 700 to 1,000.¹¹

Among his other early activities Father Malone sponsored lectures at the Williamsburg Catholic Institute and formed an Ecclleston Literary Association and a Roman Catholic Beneficial Society.¹² The parishioners numbered over 5,000 in 1853, thus requiring the services of assistant priests.¹³

Williamsburg became the site also of the fourth parish to be formed in Kings County. The founder of this first German parish of the Most Holy Trinity was Father John Stephen Raffener. This remarkable man was born in 1785 at Mals in the Austrian Tyrol. His seminary course was interrupted in 1809 by the Napoleonic wars; in the meantime he studied medicine and became an Austrian army-surgeon. After further medical practice he resumed

theological studies, was ordained May 1, 1825, and became a pastor at Halle. But his thoughts turned to the New World and he determined to serve the German immigrants in the American Middle West. When he arrived in New York in 1833, however, Bishop Dubois persuaded him to remain there in the city.

He organized New York's first German Catholic parish of St. Nicholas on East Second Street. From this headquarters he visited German Catholics within a radius of 300 miles, as vicar general for the Germans, an office later confirmed by Bishop Hughes and Bishop Loughlin. As a result of such missionary trips, he had founded and attended, by the time of his death on July 16, 1861, over 30 parishes.¹⁴

In 1841 he decided to leave his New York parish and devote the rest of his days to the German Catholics in Williamsburg. His first Mass there, celebrated in a Montrose Avenue shop near the present church, was attended by 100 persons. On June 9 of that year, with his own funds he bought property at the southeast corner of Montrose Avenue and Ewen Street, later called Manhattan Avenue. It was just south of the old Dutch hamlet of Bushwick and a mile southeast of Grand Street ferry.¹⁵

Bishop Hughes came to lay the cornerstone of the small frame church on July 9, 1841; on October 10 he dedicated the church and its surrounding cemetery. The flock grew rapidly from one baptism that year to 531 during 1853.¹⁶ Foreseeing the need of more ground for a larger church, Father Raffener in October, 1851, bought more than four acres for a new cemetery at the southeast corner of the town of Bushwick, nearly three miles southeast of the church. Thither he removed the remains from the old cemetery,¹⁷ thus gaining ground for a new structure. Archbishop Hughes laid the cornerstone of this large, brick, Gothic-style church on June 9, 1853.¹⁸

From 1841 to 1844 the basement of the old church served as rectory and school. Then Raffener built a rectory on Montrose Avenue, but the school, with its religiously garbed lay-teachers, remained overcrowded, and grew from 20 pupils in 1841 to 140 in 1853.¹⁹ That year the Sisters of St. Dominic came to the parish and the next year found 243 pupils under their instruction.

A happy mischance of profound significance to the parish and

the future diocese had brought these religious, whose community had begun at Prouille, France, in 1216, to Williamsburg. Four of them—Josepha Witzelhofer, Augustina Neuhierl, Francesca Retter, and Jacobina Riederer—had come to America from Ratisbon on the invitation of Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., the founder-abbot of St. Vincent's Archabbey, Beatty, Pennsylvania. They had met Wimmer at Ratisbon in 1851, where he had gone seeking sisters for the Pennsylvania missions. Upon their arrival in New York on August 26, 1853, they found no one at the pier, but their letter of introduction to the Redemptorist Fathers secured shelter for them and a prompt invitation from Father Raffeiner to go to Williamsburg. They accepted, arriving on September 2, 1853.²⁰ The sisters lived in primitive fashion in the old church-basement school until 1854, when a convent was erected for them, and a brick school built for the girls they taught.²¹

Father Raffeiner laid the foundation of German orphan care in 1851 when he established the Orphan Home Society with John Maerz as president; but little of a practical nature was done at the time.²² Substitute priests came to the parish to enable the pastor to continue his missionary journeys until 1847, when he secured permanent assistants.²³ Father Adelbert Inama, O.Praem., the first of Raffeiner's temporary curates, has left a picture of something of Catholic life in this German parish well over a century ago:

I found him in patriarchal simplicity encamped before the fire in his chamber beneath the church. Next week Raffeiner leaves for Macaupin, a German-Catholic mountain community in the state of New Jersey. . . . Williamsburgh lies upon Long Island, which breaks the force of the ocean and makes New York one of the world's greatest harbors and trade-centers. Steamers which pass night and day, carry the population from one to another of the three parts of the city in from two to three minutes, for three to six kreuzer. Whereas Brooklyn has already over 50,000 inhabitants, Williamsburgh has about 15,000 but it is growing rapidly.

Raffeiner enjoys the respect of all the priests here and roundabout, not only German but also Irish, and is highly valued by the bishop, who always calls him the patriarch of the German missionaries . . . he is determined not to limit or give up his labors until the much needed reinforcement of young missionaries makes his services dispensable. . . .

He meets the young people for instruction in the Catechism three

times a week at seven in the evening, since they are at work during the day. He has been able to attract them particularly with singing. . . . How striking it was to me to be met everywhere in the public streets with 'Praised be Jesus Christ!' He introduced this custom. In general, the young people here, and especially the young married people, are excellent and lead a truly pious and edifying life. . . . I have confessions to hear practically every day, and how edifying it is to have communicants at practically every holy Mass! . . . The confessions are usually . . . rather long for the people have a holy urge for instruction and consolation and open their hearts entirely. I give instruction in the Catechism Wednesday and Friday evenings at seven o'clock and every evening, from eight to nine o'clock, instruction for young men eighteen years of age in preparation for the first reception of the holy sacraments.

On Sundays . . . there is much work all day. I hear confessions from five to eight o'clock and then read early Mass. Then the people come who are bringing their children or who want advice. . . . At ten o'clock divine services are held. After services, which last until about twelve o'clock there is rest until two o'clock. Then instruction in Catechism, vespers, singing of the Litany, and benediction with the Blessed Sacrament, which takes two hours. Pastoral conversations with individuals . . . fill the rest of the day, so that one is not through talking until evening.

The Mass is a choral Mass, entirely Latin, sung in quartette by beautiful youthful voices, and lasts a full hour. People here are also used to long sermons; they can hardly be too long. The vespers are very beautifully sung by the entire congregation according to the Roman Choral . . . they respond to the singing of the Litany with the *ora pro nobis* . . . the people respond in Latin to the *Tantum ergo* and *Genitori*. For this purpose the people have their own hymnals with the German translation at the side. . . . What I say of the piety and devotion of the people holds, to be sure, only for the majority. But the bad ones stay away of their own accord. . . . But several of these are converted daily by an inner urge. . . . The young married people give the priest especial pleasure. The yoke of marriage bows early under the sweet yoke of Christ. The best is to be expected from their children.²⁴

Before laying the cornerstone for the second Church of the Holy Trinity, Archbishop Hughes found it necessary to buy property in May, 1853, for a second church for English-speaking Catholics in Williamsburg. The site selected was at Remsen (later called Maujer) and Leonard Streets, two-thirds of the distance from SS. Peter and Paul's to Holy Trinity.²⁵ Father Peter McLaughlin

came from the pastorate of Gowanus and Fort Hamilton and began baptizing in the new parish in July, 1853. The cornerstone of the large brick church, built "in Grecian style" and still in use, was laid on September 11 by Bishop-elect Loughlin who preached to an audience of about 6,500 people.²⁶

Father McLaughlin remained a year and then left to build three churches and to help Bishop David W. Bacon in the diocese of Portland, Maine.²⁷ He was succeeded by Father Andrew Bohan who came from the pastorate of Holy Cross in Flatbush. On October 29, 1854, Bishop Loughlin dedicated the church at York and Jay Streets under the title of the Immaculate Conception, only a few days before the definition of that dogma in Rome, and preached an eloquent discourse on Ephesians 5, proving Catholic doctrine "from Protestants and from Scripture" with a "very pathetic peroration" on the Queen of Saints.²⁸

While Catholicism was taking such firm root in Williamsburg, it was spreading just as vigorously through the rest of Kings County. In the dozen years between 1842 and 1853 the foundations of a dozen additional parishes were laid, making a total of 17 for the county. They were in the old Village, the Wallabout, South Brooklyn, Columbia Heights, Gowanus, Red Hook, Bedford, East New York, Flatbush, and Fort Hamilton.

The unfinished building known as Father Farnan's church, which had stood for a decade a few blocks from St. James', became the second church in the old village of Brooklyn. It was bought by Bishop Hughes²⁹ and, "crowded with Protestants and Catholics," was dedicated by him as the Church of the Assumption on July 17, 1842.³⁰ Father David W. Bacon was named its pastor. He was born in Brooklyn or New York in 1813 and was ordained at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, in 1838. He assisted in Utica, Ogdensburg, New York City, and New Jersey.³¹ In 1843 he organized a free school in the basement of his Brooklyn church and in 1854 erected a school building.³² He began the Eccleston Literary Society, made a number of converts, and was reputed "the most influential minister of the Catholic faith in this city."³³ Soon the parish had assistant priests.³⁴ Bacon was named first bishop of Portland, Maine, in 1855, while he was collecting funds for Star of the Sea Church.³⁵ He was consecrated on April 22 by Arch-

bishop Hughes, assisted by Bishop Loughlin and Bishop John B. Fitzpatrick of Boston; he was installed on May 31 over six priests and eight churches throughout Maine and New Hampshire. Father John Bapst, S.J., who had been tarred and feathered by a mob the preceding fall, celebrated the Mass.³⁶

There was by now a growing group of Catholics living in the Dutch village of Flatbush in the center of Kings County. Father James O'Donnell, O.S.A., had visited them in 1842 and was succeeded by Father William Hogan until about 1849.³⁷ In that year the house of Patrick H. Curran was fitted up as a chapel and rectory, and the priests from St. James', three miles to the northwest, took over the mission.³⁸

On May 15, 1850, Father Edward Smith Briody, then ministering to the Catholics at Fort Hamilton, purchased eight lots at the corner of Erasmus and Prospect (Church Avenue) Streets.³⁹ Here on March 30, 1851, "a neat framed Catholic Church was dedicated to the service of Almighty God by the Very Rev. M. Loughlin of St. Patrick's Cathedral." Father Francis Gillespie was in charge a few months until September, when Father Eugene Cassidy came from New York to the mission of Holy Cross, as it was called. In 1852 a parish school was started in the church gallery. Father Andrew Bohan, recently ordained, became resident pastor that fall, relocated the rectory, and began the East New York mission.⁴⁰

About the same time that Father O'Donnell was discovering the Flatbush Catholics, some 20 of their coreligionists met at Mackey's hostelry on the Newtown Road east of the toll gate near present Flushing and Franklin Avenues. They determined to buy a Methodist church in Kent Avenue near Willoughby. It was a mile east of St. James' and a mile south of St. Mary's on Wythe Avenue in Williamsburg. They collected \$2,800, made the purchase, and asked Bishop Hughes for a pastor. He sent them Father Hugh Maguire, a curate at Assumption.⁴¹ The church, first called St. Mary's, was named St. Patrick's in about 1849.⁴² In 1845 the bishop bought some nearby lots; and Maguire, who became a resident pastor in 1846, acquired more property⁴³ for a school and a larger church. The cornerstone of the present brick, Gothic-style church was laid in November, 1854; it was dedicated in August, 1856, by Bishop Loughlin.⁴⁴

The Catholics at Gowanus, as it was called, situated near the new Greenwood Cemetery, were first ministered to in 1846.⁴⁵ Here in July, 1848, Bishop Hughes bought some lots on the south side of 21st Street, east of Fifth Avenue. The site offered "an exhilarating view of New York's noble harbor with its varied scenery of cities, villages, islands, inlets, wooded heights, and . . . flags of almost every nation."⁴⁶

Father Peter McLaughlin was sent in November, 1849, from St. Brigid's, New York, to minister to the congregations here and at Fort Hamilton.⁴⁷ At Gowanus he erected a "handsome frame building" and Archbishop Hughes dedicated it under the patronage of St. John the Evangelist at "a very solemn and interesting scene" in September, 1851.⁴⁸ Father McLaughlin made his residence on 21st Street, organized a flourishing Sunday school, and possibly began a church-basement school before he left for Immaculate Conception parish in 1853. Father Francis McKeon came from New York to succeed him and, the next year, erected "an elegant school house."⁴⁹

The unnamed priest who first visited the Catholics of Gowanus in 1846 also may have celebrated the first Mass that year at Fort Hamilton, in the town of New Utrecht.⁵⁰ There were Catholic soldiers at the fort dominating the Narrows through which Verrazano had sailed 325 years before. Beginning at Easter in 1849, "subscriptions towards the support of the clergy" were taken, according to the Register of Baptisms, and 47 persons contributed \$17.44. In October Father Edward Smith Briody, who was newly ordained, began visiting the mission.⁵¹ The next year, in June, three weeks after he purchased the Flatbush property, he bought four lots on Stewart (Fourth) Avenue and Lafayette (95th) Street at Fort Hamilton.⁵²

Shortly thereafter, Father McLaughlin of Gowanus built the church; Archbishop Hughes dedicated it under the invocation of St. Patrick on December 12, 1853.⁵³ By that time McLaughlin had gone to Immaculate Conception, and Father McKeon of St. John the Evangelist's took over the mission until Father Michael [Bernard] Maginn, who had seen brief service during 1851 in Flatbush, became the first resident-pastor.

The closing days of 1849 saw the establishment of still another

parish. It began with Bishop Hughes' purchase of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Emmanuel, on the east side of Sidney Place south of Livingston Street. The building, which had been erected in 1842, was located in fashionable Columbia Heights, 2,000 feet southwest of St. James'.⁵⁴ Bishop Hughes dedicated it on December 30, 1849, as the Church of St. Charles Borromeo.⁵⁵ In this church, Levi Silliman Ives, Episcopal bishop of North Carolina, had ordained Donald X. McLeod an Episcopal minister. Not many years after the purchase, these two men—both having by that time become Catholics, and McLeod a priest as well—met in St. Charles'. Like them, it too had become Catholic.⁵⁶

The distinguished Dr. Charles Constantine Pise had already arrived from St. Peter's, New York, as pastor of St. Charles' ⁵⁷ and he attracted a large congregation.⁵⁸ He quickly established a church-basement school, Sunday school, library, library association, and St. Charles' Institute for lectures.⁵⁹ Pise had come to Brooklyn after a misunderstanding with Hughes, but the next year he could write, "I am most pleasantly situated in my new church. My congregation, though but a few months formed, is numerous and respectable. . . . Divine Providence has his designs of mercy and justice in all things." ⁶⁰ And it is pleasant, as well, to record that, a few years later, the misunderstanding had vanished.

Pise was born at Annapolis, Maryland, in November, 1801, of Italian-American parentage. He graduated from Georgetown in 1815 and was a Jesuit scholastic until 1821. He was ordained by Archbishop Maréchal in 1825 and served in the archdiocese of Baltimore. From 1832 to 1834 he served as chaplain to the United States Senate. He came to New York on the invitation of Bishop Dubois in 1834 and was assigned to St. Joseph's and then to St. Peter's with Dr. Power, the vicar general, until 1849.

Catholic journalism and letters are deeply indebted to Pise's pen. He edited the first Catholic monthly magazine in the United States, the *Metropolitan* of Baltimore, 1830-1831; the *Weekly Register and Catholic Diary*, 1833-1836, and the monthly *Catholic Expositor*, 1842-1844, both of New York. In Baltimore in 1829 he published his first of 10 novels, *Father Rowland*, the first American Catholic novel with a purpose, and a five-volume *History of the Church* (1827-1830). *The American Flag*, the best known of

his poems, reflected the Know-Nothing days of its composition in 1855. Dr. Pise was in great demand all over the country as preacher and lecturer. He wrote little after coming to Brooklyn, his last major work, *Christianity and the Church*, being published in 1850. In 1866 a few weeks before he died, Pise bought the site of the present church. Archbishop McCloskey preached at the funeral of this "ever faithful, elegant scholar." Bishop James Roosevelt Bayley of Newark, among the three other bishops present, wrote that he was "as good and kind-hearted a man as ever I knew."⁶¹

Five of the last six parishes begun before the end of 1853 lay along the parallel lines of the old Jamaica Turnpike (Fulton Street) and the railroad on Atlantic Avenue. Four of them lay east of St. James', indicating that population was forming a spear-head through the heart of Brooklyn toward central Queens. Three of the new parishes were German, the earliest being St. Francis in the Fields.

Father Raffener began this last parish about 1850 as a mission of Holy Trinity and nearly two miles south of it. He bought a half-acre fronting on Putnam Avenue about 200 feet east of Bedford Avenue. Here he erected a two-story church. It was first called the German Church of the Holy Trinity. Father Maurus Ramsauer, O.S.B., attended it from Holy Trinity from 1850 until 1852. Then he took up residence in the church basement and started serving also the two newly formed German congregations of St. Benedict and St. Boniface.⁶²

At Bedford, Long Island, a half-mile west of St. Francis in the Fields and more than a mile east of St. James', a score of largely Irish-Catholic families had settled. For this new parish of St. Joseph, Archbishop Hughes bought a 200-foot frontage extending from Pacific Street to Dean, just east of Vanderbilt Avenue. This was on June 20, 1851.⁶³ The cornerstone of the church was laid on the next March 17, and Hughes dedicated the edifice on April 17, 1853.⁶⁴ The priests at St. James' cared for the mission until Father Patrick J. O'Neill became the first resident-pastor in October, 1853.⁶⁵ It was said that faulty construction soon required the replacement of this structure with a large brick church. Its

spire, built in 1859, bore the first public clock to strike the hours in Brooklyn.⁶⁶

By mid-century there was need of new parishes in old South Brooklyn and Red Hook, where the shipping and wharves of Erie Basin and Gowanus Canal had attracted a large number of immigrant laborers. Accordingly, Archbishop Hughes bought property on October 1, 1851, near the northeast corner of Henry and Luqueer Streets.⁶⁷ Under Father Bacon's direction, meetings were held in St. Paul's to organize collections for the new structure.⁶⁸ The Church of St. Mary, Star of the Sea, was built, however, a few hundred feet farther east, for on March 1, 1853, the archbishop bought property for it on the east side of Court Street between Lynch (Nelson) and Luqueer Streets.⁶⁹ This new site was three-fifths of a mile south of St. Paul's and twice as far south of St. James'. Hughes, under a severe indisposition, laid the cornerstone on July 17, 1853, marvelling at "the multitude of the faithful, too vast to be computed." Something of the man and the people is preserved in his sermon challenging his audience on their readiness to finish the church and to build still others. His questions may have been rhetorical in purpose, but answers were heartily and spontaneously voiced. Bacon, now a bishop, dedicated the church in the following April.⁷⁰ Father Edward Maginnis, a doughty Long Island missionary, became its first resident-pastor early in 1855.⁷¹

Two miles east of St. Francis in the Fields, eight German Catholic families met early in 1852 and at the suggestion of Father Ramsauer, O.S.B., proceeded to build a small frame church.⁷² In October, William and Christine Radde, Jacob and Maria Sackman, and Charles Rademacher, the owners of the three lots utilized, conveyed the property to Archbishop Hughes "for the erection of a German Church." The site was on the north side of Herkimer Street, just west of Ralph Avenue.⁷³ Poverty hampered progress, however, and it was not until September 11, 1853, that Father Malone was able to dedicate "the new German church of St. Benedict." ⁷⁴ Father Bonaventure Keller, O.S.F., Ramsauer's successor at St. Francis', began ministering to the parish in March, 1854.⁷⁵

The village of New Lots, situated in the northeast corner of

the town of Flatbush, was the scene of the next Catholic congregation to gather along the Jamaica Turnpike. In 1837 the section had been described as the "First Manufacturing District lying on the Great Eastern Railroad $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles from New York" and, in 1843, as lying "on the great thoroughfare to Boston, the quick ten hour route per the Long Island Railroad now nearly complete, and only about 22 minutes . . . from the city, Brooklyn side."⁷⁶

A few Catholic farmers and laborers, some of them German, had settled here by mid-century. In 1853 Father Bohan came from Holy Cross in Flatbush, two miles to the southwest, and celebrated Mass in a hotel on the northwest corner of Atlantic and Vermont Avenues.⁷⁷ Meanwhile, a small church was quickly built at the northeast corner of Atlantic and Van Sicken Avenues on lots that were transferred to Bishop Loughlin in March, 1854.⁷⁸ To its dedication under the title of St. Malachy, on April 9, 1854, stages carried Catholics from the New York ferries and the older Brooklyn parishes.⁷⁹

The last weeks of 1853 witnessed the acquisition of the fourth German church in Kings County. Increasing numbers of Germans had been settling in the Irish stronghold of South Brooklyn and a group of some 200 began meeting at a private house on Dean Street near Powers (Third Avenue). Edward Glatzmayer was elected president of the group and was assisted by Edward Bayer, the husband of Adele Parmentier. Father Raffener approved their purpose and Father Schneller of St. Paul's gave them the use of his church basement.⁸⁰ In November, 1853, the society, advertising a benefit sacred concert at St. Paul's, announced that they had purchased St. Thomas' Episcopal Church at the corner of Wiloughby and Bridge Streets.⁸¹ It lay one-third mile south of St. James'. The church was dedicated under the patronage of St. Boniface by Bishop Loughlin on January 29, 1854. He preached with "deep power and great reflection."⁸² Next month Father Ramsauer became the pastor.⁸³

The origins of the Church in the three eastern counties of Long Island were, remarkably enough, almost contemporaneous with those in Kings, despite their distance from New York and Brook-

lyn, the primitive means of communication, and the comparatively few Catholics.

THE CHURCH IN QUEENS

Present Queens County, which lies east and north of Kings County and is composed of the old townships of Newtown, Flushing, and Jamaica, was largely agricultural a century ago, with a fringe of infant industries along the East River. No one could then foresee the great residential and industrial borough it has since become.⁸⁴ The three townships had a total population of less than 15,000 in 1840,⁸⁵ yet by that time Catholic congregations had formed in each of them.

The township and village of Flushing in north central Queens was a favorite excursion resort for New Yorkers and was celebrated for its famous nurseries, one of which was conducted by Daniel Higgins, a prominent Catholic.⁸⁶ Boats plied between the village and New York, and stages travelled between it and Brooklyn, passing through Newtown and Bushwick on the way. The village was probably the first place on Long Island to have Mass after St. James'. It is said that Father Farnan came to the quaint village of 2,500 people at the head of Flushing Bay on the invitation of a dozen Catholics and offered Mass in October, 1826, in a shop on Main Street near Washington.⁸⁷ A few years later Fathers Moran and Bradley at St. James' took over the mission.⁸⁸ Then Father Michael Curran, the Long Island missionary, took charge shortly after he became pastor of St. Paul's parish in Harlem, in 1835.⁸⁹ It has been said that he bought a house on Liberty Street for a chapel, but it is definitely true that on June 28, 1841, he was able to purchase four lots on the northwest corner of Union and Madison (41st Avenue) Streets for \$900.⁹⁰ A notice in the *Freeman's Journal* for August 14, 1841, informed the Catholic public that "Proposals will be received until the evening of the 21st in Flushing, L. I., at the house of David O'Connor, for the building of a Catholic Church. The plant specifications can be examined at any time in the above residence." Here, on July 10, 1842, Bishop Hughes dedicated St. Michael's Church in Flushing, "one of the prettiest places in the vicinity of the city."⁹¹ The next year,

Father Curran became resident pastor of Astoria, several miles to the west, and with his assistant, Father Felix Larkin, travelled to minister to the growing Catholic flock at Flushing until 1848, when Larkin died.⁹² In August of that year, Father Denis Wheeler became St. Michael's first resident-pastor.⁹³ He acquired more church property before he left in 1851.⁹⁴

Father John McMahon came from St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York to succeed him.⁹⁵ In 1853 he erected the first Catholic school in Queens County, a two-story building measuring 30 by 80 feet. It was a Catholic reaction to local anti-Catholic feeling, arising from the election of a Catholic as one of the public school commissioners.⁹⁶ The building's "completion was celebrated last Monday by a public meeting . . . and an address was given by Mr. McMaster of the *Freeman's Journal*. . . . The pastor spoke to the delight of his united and affectionate flock."⁹⁷ Father McMahon left late in September and was succeeded by Father James O'Beirne. From the start, over 200 Catholic children attended the school, which "was highly commended at the completion of its first annual term" on July 3 by the new pastor, and the children spent the day on the Higgins' property.⁹⁸

The school also impressed the Redemptorist Fathers, who gave the first known mission on Long Island in the parish in September, a month after the school was completed. The record of their visitation called it an excellent school which all the parish children, except from one family, attended. The missionaries noted also that all the Faithful were Irish, that 950 persons received Holy Communion, and they reported that some Protestants were to be received into the Church.⁹⁹

The second mission in Queens was established in its northwest corner at Astoria in the town of Newtown, where small industries were encroaching on farms and lovely country seats. Father Michael Curran of Harlem began visiting Astoria,¹⁰⁰ then known as Hallett's Cove, in 1835, as well as Flushing. He travelled by the Hell Gate horse-ferry from present 86th Street in New York. On July 3, 1841, the trustees of St. John's Church secured a lot at Trowbridge Street (26th Avenue) and Van Alst Avenue (21st Street) from James Shea, a New York teacher, and his wife, Mary Ann.¹⁰¹ Here Curran erected a frame church and celebrated Mass

in September, 1841.¹⁰² The congregation raised \$819.25 to build it, but the first collection in the church amounted to only \$2.31.¹⁰³ The parish of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, as it was soon called, had a total abstinence society in 1842 and was active in the cause of Irish Repeal.

In May, 1843, the pastor resigned his Harlem parish and made a trip to Ireland. On his return some months later, he took up his residence in Astoria. He purchased more property for the church and laid out a cemetery.¹⁰⁴ Until mid-1848 he continued his trips to Flushing and Jamaica as well as to the eastern Long Island missions. While the parish had no school, the Religious of the Sacred Heart conducted a girls' boarding academy three-quarters of a mile south in Ravenswood from 1844 to 1847.¹⁰⁵ Father Curran labored until his death in 1856, after nearly 30 years in the ministry, and was then eulogized as "one of the oldest priests in the missions."¹⁰⁶

Jamaica Village, lying near the center of present Queens County, endowed with rich farmlands and splendid country seats and serving as a crossroads for the county, was the next scene of organized Catholic life. The advent of the railroad in 1836 had brought some Irish laborers to the village, in addition to the Irish farm hands already living in the neighborhood. When Father Curran first came here in October, 1838, he found about 200 Catholics.¹⁰⁷ He offered the first Mass in the home of John McLaughlin, a blacksmith.¹⁰⁸ A few months later, the village became an out-mission of St. Paul's, in charge of Father Richard Waters. He proceeded to collect funds for a church, as we learn from a somewhat pretentious notice in the *Truth Teller* of June 15, 1839, which listed 37 persons with Irish names contributing \$117.00:

The Catholics of Jamaica, L.I., respectfully inform their brethren in New York, Brooklyn and elsewhere, that they are gathering subscriptions for the erection of a Catholic Church in Washington St. Jamaica, as the inconvenience of being without a place of worship is severely felt by the Catholic population of that neighborhood as well as by casual residents and visitors. Being mostly mechanics and working men whose means are limited, they earnestly request the aid of their brethren in the undertaking. It behooves us, as we value our eternal welfare, to assist in providing places of worship for the Catholic Faith as the population increases. The gentlemen of Jamaica whose

servants are Catholic would find it much to their convenience to assist. . . . Subscriptions received by the clergymen at different churches in New York, by Rev. Mr. Waters, Brooklyn, and John McLoughlin, Treasurer, Jamaica.

When the Augustinians succeeded Waters at St. Paul's the next month, Father James O'Donnell took charge of the Jamaica mission. Five months later he bought two lots on the northwest side of Washington Street (160th Street) and Liberty Avenue (107th Avenue). The site was about 1,500 feet southeast of present Jamaica Station.¹⁰⁹ On December 27, O'Donnell next engaged himself to pay annual rent of \$14.00 for two lots adjacent on Washington Street running west to Prospect Street (159th Street) for 20 years with the option of purchase for \$200.¹¹⁰ Here O'Donnell built a small frame church, and to it Bishop Dubois came on June 7, 1840, to dedicate it as St. Monica's and to administer Confirmation.¹¹¹

Parish life prospered¹¹² and when Father O'Donnell left the diocese in 1844, Father Curran resumed his trips from Astoria to Jamaica. He was succeeded in 1848 by Father Edward Maginnis, who became the first resident-pastor of St. Monica's. From this headquarters Maginnis began a noteworthy missionary career through Long Island.¹¹³ The local congregation grew and efforts were begun to erect a new church.¹¹⁴ But Maginnis left for Star of the Sea, Brooklyn, at the end of 1854 and his successor, Father Anthony Farley, built the second and present church in 1857, 750 feet nearer the railroad station, on ground secured by O'Donnell in 1839.¹¹⁵

Father Curran, while attending Jamaica, had discovered some Catholics living at Far Rockaway, then a famous summer resort where "such bathing is nowhere else to be found,"¹¹⁶ eight miles south of Jamaica by stage.¹¹⁷ In 1847 in William Caffrey's hotel he offered the first Mass recorded for that watering place.¹¹⁸ The next year Maginnis, then at Jamaica, took over the mission and in 1850 began holding services in a tent for the large summer congregation.¹¹⁹ In 1852 Archbishop Hughes secured property nearby and laid the cornerstone of Star of the Sea Church on August 15 of that year.¹²⁰ The church was not finished until 1857¹²¹ and it re-

mained a mission of Jamaica until Father Brunemann, O.S.F., came from Sag Harbor in 1868 to be the first resident-pastor.¹²²

THE CHURCH IN NASSAU

Nassau County today comprises the three eastern townships of old Queens County: North Hempstead in the northwest, Oyster Bay in the northeast, and Hempstead in the south. In 1840 only 15,844 people dwelt in the whole area but there were some Catholics among them and, a few years later, Mass was being celebrated in each of the three townships.

The house of Barney Powers in present North Uniondale, two miles east of Hempstead Village, was the scene of the first Mass. Father James O'Donnell was the celebrant in 1840, coming from St. Paul's in Brooklyn, and four adults and three children were present. Money was collected for a church, but only enough was raised to build a shed.¹²³ The Catholics thereafter generally attended Mass at Jamaica until 1851 when, on February 17, Archbishop Hughes bought two acres two miles north of Uniondale and just south of the railroad depot in Westbury. The property lay on the east side of the road, now Post Avenue, that ran from the Friends' Meeting House to the sheep pens.¹²⁴ The new location in Hempstead Plains was more centrally situated for a congregation coming for miles from every direction. The frame of a church was erected in a week and the next month 600 scattered Catholics came for Mass.¹²⁵ The *Freeman's Journal* seized the occasion to urge Catholics to buy a farm here "close by the R.R. for \$10.00—\$40.00 an acre . . . instead of out west."¹²⁶ Father Maginnis included the mission in his journeys until 1855, when Father Farley served it from Jamaica. The next year on July 28, Bishop Loughlin dedicated St. Brigid's Church¹²⁷ and Father Patrick Kelly, pastor of Glen Cove, began coming to Westbury for Mass.¹²⁸ Not until 1892 did the parish receive its first resident pastor.

The saw and grist mills and vacation opportunities of Glen Cove on the east shore of Hempstead Harbor in Oyster Bay Township had attracted some Irish before 1835.¹²⁹ The place had a steamboat connection with New York and was much frequented in summer.¹³⁰ Some time around the year 1850, the number of Catho-

lics there warranted Father Maginnis of Jamaica to offer the first Mass in the open air at Garvie's Point on Mosquito Cove.¹³¹ A room was next rented for the purpose of celebrating Mass and Father John McCarthy, assistant to Maginnis, attended the place from 1853 to 1856. To do so, he travelled from his successive residences at Jamaica, Hicksville, and Greenport.¹³² In the spring of 1856 Father Patrick Kelly, a curate at Assumption, became first resident-pastor of Glen Cove.¹³³ Meanwhile Bishop Loughlin had bought for \$240, on August 27, 1855, six lots near the steamboat landing, a mile and a half south of the scene of the first Mass.¹³⁴ The location proved unsuitable and in 1856 he paid \$1,800 for an acre of land for the site of the present church a mile and a half northeast of the first purchase and near the present Glen Cove railroad station.¹³⁵ The first Church of St. Patrick was quickly built here and, with its cemetery, was dedicated on August 16, 1857.¹³⁶

Foster's Meadows (Elmont) in the northwest part of (South) Hempstead Township witnessed the formation of the next congregation among some German farmers. The first baptism was recorded on January 29, 1853, and Father Joseph Huber, curate at Holy Trinity,¹³⁷ offered Mass on August 13, 1854, in Joseph Hoffman's parlor, which was called the Oratory of St. Lawrence, at Elmont Road near Dutch Broadway.¹³⁸ That year, Father George Roesch, who signed himself in the Parish Record as "the first rector of this church of the Holy Nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ," announced weekday Masses and added the injunction that if a priest did not come for Sunday Mass, the Gospel should be read at home.

Bishop Loughlin bought the first church property on December 15 of the same year on the west side of Elmont Road, a half-mile south of Hoffman's place.¹³⁹ Father Huber built the first church and the bishop dedicated it and its adjoining cemetery¹⁴⁰ on October 11, 1857, under the patronage of St. Boniface.¹⁴¹ Besides Roesch, other priests from St. Francis in the Fields and from College Point may have resided there for brief periods from 1854 to 1868, in which latter year Father Joseph Hauber from St. Boniface's in Brooklyn took up residence.¹⁴²

Before 1850 a few Irish farm laborers and domestics and several Germans were living in the neighborhood of the hamlet of Manhasset in North Hempstead Township, midway between Glen Cove and Flushing.¹⁴³ Nathaniel Prime in his *History of Long Island*, described it in 1845 as "a small village . . . [with] few elegant mansions, the principal part of the village consists of small tenements undistinguished either for beauty or situation or symmetry of form." Father John McMahon of Flushing on his pastoral visitations found a number of neglected Catholics in this village.¹⁴⁴ He sought permission in July, 1853, from Archbishop Hughes to collect funds in the city to build a church for them, a site for which he had secured from Judge Onderdonck. His letter was penned on the same day that Pope Pius IX issued the brief erecting Long Island into the diocese of Brooklyn.¹⁴⁵ In September, Father James O'Beirne, who had been stationed at Transfiguration in New York, succeeded McMahon at Flushing and took over the Manhasset mission. Bishop Loughlin bought the first property on August 1, 1857, on the east side of Plandome Road, north of the North Hempstead Town Hall.¹⁴⁶ Here, on October 4 of that year, the bishop of Brooklyn dedicated St. Mary's Church.¹⁴⁷ Save for two intervals in the 1860's when there was a resident priest, the mission was attended successively from Flushing, Roslyn, and Port Washington until 1912, when again it received a resident pastor.¹⁴⁸

It is recorded that Jericho, in south central Oyster Bay Township, was attended from Brooklyn in 1849, and by Father Maginis, then of Jamaica, from 1850 to 1852.¹⁴⁹ Thereafter, no mention is made of it. Apparently, it became one of the first "ghost" missions and parishes on Long Island. This Jericho mission may have been transferred to Hicksville, two miles to the south.¹⁵⁰ The railroad had come there in 1840 and a German settlement developed. Father John McCarthy, the curate at Jamaica, lived in that place from 1854 to 1855. Thence he attended nine central and eastern Long Island missions.¹⁵¹ Thereafter the place was visited by priests from various parishes until 1872, when it received its first resident-pastor.¹⁵² The first church of this parish of St. Ignatius was begun in 1859.

THE CHURCH IN SUFFOLK

The island character of the diocese of Brooklyn became more evident as one travelled through narrowing Suffolk County toward its eastern end. Rich farm lands dominated its western and eastern sections, while the sandy Bushy Plains of scrub-oak and pine lay between. At Riverhead, in the center of the county, the island divided into northern and southern flukes terminating respectively at Orient and Montauk Points, with Shelter Island cradled between. Suffolk County occupied the eastern two-thirds of Long Island and was divided into 10 townships: Huntington and Smithtown occupied the northwest part; Babylon and Islip, the southwest section; Brookhaven lay in the middle of the county; Riverhead and Southold formed the island's northeast fork; Southampton and East Hampton, the southeast fork; and Shelter Island lay between them. Until a century ago Suffolk was more populous than old Queens County; but today, while its population is seven-fold what it was in 1840, it has fallen far behind both Queens and Nassau.

Memories of Indians and Puritans, of piracy, whaling, and shipwrecks, and of exploits of 1776 and 1812-1814 haunted Suffolk's eastern end, and it is still largely a Protestant land. Yet organized Catholicism made its feeble beginnings there nearly a century and a quarter ago. In the pre-diocesan era, congregations gathered in the village of Sag Harbor in 1832 and at Huntington in 1840. The next year, Smithtown and, in 1844, Riverhead witnessed similar scenes. Shortly thereafter Mass was celebrated in Southold and Greenport, and in Babylon and Patchogue in 1850.

The county had its first resident-priest, Thomas Joyce, at Sag Harbor during 1852, after which he labored in New York. Father John McCarthy lived at Greenport in 1856. Father Michael O'Neil dwelled there from 1858 to 1860, whereupon he went to Islip for a year or so and then left the diocese. The sole resident-pastors of the county for a decade or more were Father Joseph Brunemann, O.S.F., at Sag Harbor, beginning in 1859, and Father Jeremiah Crowley at Huntington from 1860 on. Before any of those mentioned here, however, others had blazed the way—James O'Donnell of St. Paul's, from 1839 to 1844; Michael Curran of

Harlem and Astoria, from 1835 to 1848; and Edward Maginnis of Jamaica, from 1848 to 1855.

The first congregation gathered in Southampton Township at Sag Harbor, 105 miles east of St. James' parish in Brooklyn. The village, on the north central shore of Long Island's southern fluke, had a cosmopolitan character attributable to its whaling and related industries. In 1844 it reached its greatest prosperity and numbered about 4,000 inhabitants. Then several disastrous fires and the gold rush of 1849 changed the port to a mill- and factory-town.¹⁵³

Michael Burke, a devout Irish layman, did for the Catholics of Sag Harbor what Turner had done for the Faithful of Brooklyn.¹⁵⁴ Beginning in 1829 or 1830, he held Sunday morning and afternoon services in his home for the 15 Catholic families, all Irish save one, which was Portuguese. On his rare trips to New York he pleaded for a priest to come by stagecoach or by sloop to his "poor brethren." Father Patrick Moran came from St. James' in 1832, shortly after his ordination in November, and celebrated Mass in Burke's house. Father Patrick Carraher offered Mass while on a sick call to Shelter Island in 1834. The next year Father William Quarter came, like Carraher, from New York. Then St. James' parish in Brooklyn took over the mission, while from late 1837 to April, 1839, Father Andrew Byrne came also from New York. The last two named became in 1844 the first bishops, respectively, of Chicago and of Little Rock. In 1839 and 1840 Father Cumiskey attended the mission from New York, and in 1841 Father James O'Donnell began regular visits.¹⁵⁵

Burke, meanwhile, had been collecting funds for a church and on February 10, 1838, he was able to buy the old Methodist Church for \$1,052.50.¹⁵⁶ It was called St. Andrew's.¹⁵⁷ Anti-Catholic feeling was quite strong in the village, but the congregation flourished. Burke distributed Catholic papers and sponsored Irish Repeal meetings, and Father O'Donnell gave lectures for Protestants.¹⁵⁸ By 1845 the congregation numbered 650.¹⁵⁹ In 1846 Father Curran and his assistant, Father Felix Larkin, began coming and that year the cemetery was opened. Father Maginnis succeeded them in 1848. During 1852 Father Thomas Joyce resided in Sag Harbor. Thereafter, Fathers McCarthy and O'Neil visited the

mission until Father Joseph Brunemann, O.S.F., left St. Boniface's in Brooklyn and became resident pastor in 1859.¹⁶⁰

Other groups of Catholics living in the eastern end of Suffolk County had the privilege of assisting at Mass in the pre-diocesan era, first at Riverhead and then at Southold and Greenport. They were chiefly farmers and workmen for the railroad, which had come through these villages to its terminus in Greenport on July 27, 1844.

By road the village of Riverhead in the south-central part of Riverhead Township lay 28 miles west of Sag Harbor on the southern fork, and 18 and 23 miles west, respectively, of Southold and Greenport on the northern fork. The house of James Magee in Aquebogue, about three miles east of Riverhead, was the scene of the first Mass on June 14, 1844.¹⁶¹ Soon thereafter Mass was celebrated twice yearly and then quarterly at various places within the village of Riverhead.¹⁶² In 1860 a house was secured for a chapel; in 1862 land was bought; and in 1870 a church was erected and a cemetery laid out.¹⁶³ The first resident-pastor, Father John A. Casella, arrived in 1869.

Shortly after his first visit to Riverhead, Father Curran celebrated Mass at Southold, a village in the center of the township of that name. John Thompson's house was used and then Jonathan G. Horton's. Sometimes the priests ministering there, Fathers Curran, Maginnis, and McCarthy, were persecuted by hostile country folk.¹⁶⁴ The town census of 1850 revealed only 107 Irish names,¹⁶⁵ but on May 7, 1863, Father Brunemann was able to buy the Southold Institute. On this very site in the spring of 1641, the New England Puritans who settled Southold had erected the first church of their denomination in New York State. Brunemann's purchase aroused a great deal of opposition.¹⁶⁶ Besides the Institute, Brunemann secured a rectory nearby. This latter building was destroyed in a fire of suspicious origin on February 23, 1868. Father John R. MacKenna became the first resident-pastor that May and he dedicated the old institute as St. Patrick's Church in 1869.¹⁶⁷

Soon after his first Masses at Riverhead and Southold, Father Curran offered Mass in Greenport, the railroad terminal and busy little seaport which lay five miles east of Southold. Mass was

said first in the house of John Connolly at Ashamomuck, west of Greenport, and then at Joseph Farrell's home in the latter village.¹⁶⁸ Father Maginnis came next, and then Father McCarthy from Jamaica and Hicksville. From 1857 to 1859 McCarthy lived at Greenport.¹⁶⁹ Father O'Neil succeeded him as resident until 1860.¹⁷⁰ Then Father Brunemann came from Sag Harbor, continuing till 1868, when Father MacKenna of Southold attended.

Bishop Loughlin bought the first property on Sixth Street in 1855, and soon after, a church was built.¹⁷¹ Brunemann named it St. Agnes' and MacKenna dedicated it in 1870.¹⁷² Since 1886 the parish has had a resident pastor.

Two other congregations were gathered in western Suffolk County before mid-century. One was located in the township of Smithtown, and the other in the township of Huntington. Father James O'Donnell was the first to celebrate the Divine Mysteries, an event which first took place probably at Smithtown.¹⁷³ In 1841 he attended a dying person at Hauppauge, two miles south of Smithtown Village near the north-central part of Long Island.¹⁷⁴ The hamlet is 30 miles west of Riverhead and about 50 miles east of St. Paul. About the year 1830 the Fisher and Burns brothers and Cornelius Hagerty had settled in this rolling farm country.¹⁷⁵ To make their Easter duty, they had been obliged to travel to Brooklyn or New York by stage or packet from Stony Brook on the Sound.¹⁷⁶ Father O'Donnell returned again in 1841 and with voluntary labor erected a small chapel with a cemetery. Prime states that the building "was erected in a small settlement of foreigners, a mile and a half southeast of the Branch, which a Roman priest occasionally visits."¹⁷⁷ In August, 1849, under "the zealous and much respected pastor, the Rev. Edward McGinness," the building was enlarged. The event was a cause for rejoicing to a contributor to the *Freeman's Journal*, for non-Catholic neighbors had "sneered" at the ability of the congregation to build a church, but the good conduct of priest and people had removed the veil "from the brow of prejudice."¹⁷⁸ The church was called St. Patrick's.¹⁷⁹ The Fishers gave the property, which lay on the east side of Islip Road, to Archbishop Hughes on April 17, 1851.¹⁸⁰ The mission was next served until 1869 by Fathers McCarthy, O'Neil, and Jeremiah Crowley of Huntington, and by the first two resi-

dent-pastors of Riverhead, Fathers John A. Casella to 1872, and Peter Kearney to 1876.¹⁸¹

It was Father James O'Donnell who first brought the consolation of religious service to Huntington in the northwest part of the township of that name. The village was located about 15 miles northwest of the hamlet of Hauppauge. He visited Huntington in 1840, the year before he first ministered at Hauppauge.¹⁸² Huntington and especially Cold Spring Harbor village, two miles to the west, were the home ports for whalers for a few years. Shipping, farming, and the local saw and grist mills also furnished a living to the people.¹⁸³ It has been stated that the first Mass was celebrated in Matthew Hoban's house on Main Street, east of Sabbath Day Path.¹⁸⁴ By mid-century most of the few Catholics lived near Crossman's brickyards at Lloyd's Neck, three miles north of Huntington, near the present diocesan Seminary of the Immaculate Conception.¹⁸⁵ Father Maginnis built the first Church of St. Patrick, about two miles south of Crossman's and a mile north of the present church in Huntington. It lay in the village of Cold Spring, west of the junction of West Neck and Huntington Avenues, and is today the site of the parish cemetery. The church was opened on August 15, 1849.¹⁸⁶ Fathers McCarthy and O'Neil next served the mission until Father Crowley came, fresh from All Hallows Seminary, to live in Cold Spring in 1860.¹⁸⁷ Beginning with the fall of 1866 he conducted a school in the church, but it was destroyed by fire in February, 1867.¹⁸⁸ Two years later, Bishop Loughlin dedicated the present church in the village of Huntington.¹⁸⁹

By the end of 1853 the hamlets of Patchogue and Babylon on the south shore and Jamesport near Aquebogue were also being attended from Jamaica,¹⁹⁰ but no information remains of the Catholics living in those places at that early date.

SOME MANIFESTATIONS AND ASPECTS OF CATHOLIC LIFE

THE READER OF THE CATHOLIC PRESS of a century ago is impressed with the rapid burgeoning of the Catholic life of that time. The musty sheets revive the original wonder that must have been experienced upon the dedication of yet another church, the enthusiasm over the perennial miracle of support of school and orphanage, and the pride consequent upon the preservation and progress of the Faith. The Catholic life of those days sowed the seeds of the parochial and diocesan life of today, seeds which themselves had been garnered from the fruits of immemorial Catholic tradition. Some aspects of that life have revealed themselves as this narrative has unfolded. A few more may be here recalled.

When the archbishop of New York installed the first bishop of Brooklyn toward the end of 1853 the number of priests engaged in the ministry in Brooklyn and on Long Island had grown from one in 1825 to 25, including the local ordinary. The national origins and ecclesiastical preparation of the 25 of 1853 are revealing. Twenty of the priests were Irish or Irish-American: 18 had been born in Ireland; Bacon, in Brooklyn or New York; and Pise, of Irish-Italian ancestry, in Maryland. Two were born in Germany, two in Austria, and one, Vieirz (Vieiry), probably in Portugal.

If all but two were born abroad, 15 of the Brooklyn clergy had received their immediate priestly training in American seminaries. Five came from Mount St. Mary's in Emmitsburg; four from St. Joseph's, Fordham; two from Fordham and Emmitsburg; one

from St. Mary's, Baltimore; one, Bishop Loughlin, from Baltimore and Emmitsburg; one from Lafargeville and Fordham; and one from Mount St. Mary's, Ohio. Of the 10 educated elsewhere, the seminaries of three are unknown, three were educated in Ireland, two in Austria, one in Germany, one in France. One of these was a religious, a Benedictine.

The means of support for these priests had become less precarious since Father Moran's complaint in 1832. In 1836, in New York, an annual collection was assigned for their maintenance and, shortly thereafter, an annual salary; but the privations of most of them should not be forgotten.¹ The clergy of that period have been described as "strong men, though not cultivated on the average, as both time and means were wanting to secure a thorough education. The people supported them handsomely, believed in them . . . and their confidence was not misplaced." ²

The Catholic life owed much also to the devotion and initiative of the laity. Frequently they bought a few lots for a frame church and a cemetery, began a school of a sort, and then sought a priest. Usually, a decade later, each city parish had built a larger brick church and a separate school building. Even as the Faithful were supporting their parish from their slender means, receiving the spiritual life there imparted and enjoying its social and cultural life, they shared also in the fuller Catholic life of the diocese and, indeed, of the Church Universal. The Orphan Asylum Society begun in 1829, the acquisition 20 years later of Holy Cross as a place of general sepulture, the Christian Doctrine Society, the Catholic press with its news of the Church at home and abroad, the larger social, cultural, and charitable affairs supported by several parishes at once, the annual diocesan assessments, such as the cathedraticum or annual parish offering for the support of the bishop ³ and the collections for orphans and the seminary, the frequent appeals from far and wide for religious and humanitarian purposes, the visits of the bishop, the visiting preachers and lecturers—all these cut across parish lines and fed the consciousness of a life and solidarity greater than that of the immediate parish or diocese.

The supernatural life of the people flowed from the Mass and the sacraments. In the country the people came for miles, on foot

or by wagon, to Sunday Mass; in the city the echoes of their foot-falls on their way to Mass broke the early Sabbath calm. At the missions they gathered in small knots to gossip until the priest came from perhaps 25 miles away to offer his second or third Mass. The last Mass at the populous city parishes was sung at 10 or 10:30. Vespers, sermon, and Benediction were usually held at 3:30 P.M.⁴ Baptism generally was conferred on the day of birth—rarely a week later. People married younger, birth rates were higher, and baptismal registers indicated large parish populations.⁵

The average Catholic received Holy Communion at Easter and at Christmas; the devout, monthly, when special indulgences were given. A Holy Communion band of 600 boys and girls at St. Paul's received the sacraments every three months.⁶ First Holy Communion was not then received as early as now and was often accompanied by the reception of Confirmation.⁷ At a typical ceremony at St. James' in 1841, Bishop Dubois confirmed 200 boys and girls and then administered First Holy Communion to them. Ranged about the sanctuary, the girls, dressed in white, and the boys renewed their baptismal vows. It was reported: "Their demeanor and discipline while in the house of God has been rarely, if ever, surpassed by anything we have witnessed";⁸ and, on another occasion, Bishop Hughes, administering Confirmation and First Holy Communion to 400 children at St. Paul's, "was impressed by their deep recollection and pious deportment."⁹ The bishop and another priest always preached at these ceremonies and the press recorded the number of converts confirmed.

Marriages also ran to high annual totals. Brooklyn's first Nuptial Mass was celebrated on September 8, 1841, at St. Paul's by Father Nicholas O'Donnell, O.S.A., for Edward Bayer and Adele Parmentier.¹⁰ The relatively few mixed marriages that then took place were noted in the marriage register, accompanied by a written pledge of non-interference with the religion of the Catholic and the children, signed by the non-Catholic and the witnesses.

The first parish spiritual societies began in the 1840's. The Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, formed "to pray for sinners," and the Confraternity of the Rosary were first noted in 1848, and the latter was soon established in nearly all the parishes.¹¹ In 1845 Bishop Hughes ordered May devotions,

with an instruction and Benediction, for the city churches.¹² Spiritual missions first came to Long Island in September, 1853, when the original Paulists, then Redemptorists, gave one in Flushing and, in December of that year, another at SS. Peter and Paul's.¹³

Among the spiritual returns were the converts who entered the Church, some at considerable sacrifice. Although the Catholic press referred to their numbers at missions and at Confirmation ceremonies, few, if any of them, seemed to have been notable in the history of the Church of Brooklyn. The early baptismal registers yield no information, quite possibly for the reason that most converts were not then conditionally baptized as they are now. Among the 222 baptisms recorded at St. Charles Borromeo's in 1853, only six were adults.¹⁴ Father Nicholas O'Donnell had some correspondence with Orestes Brownson, and the priest reported that a number of Episcopalians desirous of communion with the Church were reciting the breviary and observing fasts and other Catholic practices, doubtless under the influence of the Oxford Movement which had brought John Henry Newman into the Church in October, 1845.¹⁵

As soon as a mission was started, Sunday school was begun, where none existed, for the children who did not attend a parish school. In 1843 it was announced: "There is a Sunday school attached to each Catholic Church in the city and in Brooklyn." ¹⁶ When the religious began to teach in the Sunday school, it received new vitality. Few, if any, Sunday schools were as large in 1851 as that at SS. Peter and Paul's which, it was reported, had 600 children and 40 young men and women teachers.¹⁷ St. Paul's, St. Charles Borromeo's, and Assumption had morning and afternoon sessions. Evening religious instructions were frequent at Holy Trinity. The schools gave books as premiums, and libraries were attached to all of them. They helped to distribute some of the works advertised in the Catholic press and marketed in the Catholic book stores.¹⁸

An evidence of Sunday school interest was the formation of the Brooklyn Christian Doctrine Society by 23 teachers early in 1853. It resolved on March 6, to improve its methods for attracting and teaching children. It drew up a constitution and advocated Sunday

school libraries, for which it hoped to secure cheaply bound books.¹⁹

An attempt to combine spiritual advantages with the insurance benefits offered by the Irish societies, appeared in the formation at St. Paul's of the Catholic Guild or Confraternity of the Holy Cross. It met monthly and one of its notices read:

St. Paul's Catholic Guild: Under the patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary, established December 1846 for the . . . practice of Christian charity towards all men; the visitation of the sick, and if in danger of death, procuring the services of a clergyman; prevention and discountenancing of scandal; and the religious instruction of youth. This society is purely Catholic and none are admitted but practical Catholics. . . . The pastor and assistant pastor of the parish where the Guild is located are ex-officio the reverend guardians. Regular members pay 25 cents per month and receive in case of sickness \$3.00 per week, and in cases of the death of a member after three months membership, \$30.00 to defray funeral expenses. One percent of all moneys received is given for any charitable purpose which a majority of the members may approve of. It is intended that this society shall branch all over the Union.²⁰

The confraternity at Assumption during 1853 provided an opportunity for young Catholics to meet "persons of their age, with whom they can associate without having their morals corrupted, or hearing their religion or country scandalized."²¹ A similar guild was organized at Sag Harbor as early as 1852. At SS. Peter and Paul's the Roman Catholic Beneficial Society was begun in June, 1850, to support the Sunday school, collect a library, help the sick, bury the dead, and "by acts of mutual benevolence and kindness, to cement more closely the sacred bonds of Union and Charity that should ever exist among fellow Catholics."²²

Temperance societies were another socially beneficial feature of parish life, with ascetic implications. The Church had always defended the right use of liquor and condemned its abuse, in contrast to the Manicheans and zealots who tried to enforce total prohibition. The battle lines are traditional. The recurring cycles of the temperance movement in America always found the Catholic Church advocating the same golden mean.²³

The movement in the 1840's is traceable in large part to the

crusade begun by Father Theobald Mathew in Ireland on April 10, 1838.²⁴ Locally, the Catholic participation developed under the influence of the vicar general, Father Felix Varela. At his Transfiguration Church in New York City, a group of New York and Brooklyn priests met on February 19, 1840, elected him president of the New York Catholic Temperance Association, and determined to form temperance associations in their parishes.²⁵ Varela organized the first association in Brooklyn at the dedication of St. Mary's in Williamsburg on June 27, 1840.²⁶ Both O'Donnells were prominent in furthering the cause, as we may gather from the "Temperance Record" kept in the marriage and baptism register of St. Paul's Church from 1839 to 1847, and listing 4,042 names. A typical "pledge" card of the Catholic Total Abstinence Society of St. Paul's, embellished with aphorisms and Scripture text and signed by Father Nicholas O'Donnell, stated: "I pledge to abstain from all intoxicating drink except used medicinally and by order of a medical man and to discountenance the cause and practice of intemperance."²⁷ The O'Donnells recommended temperance for those not prepared for abstinence,²⁸ and by March, 1842, Brooklyn Catholic membership numbered more than 5,000 of the city's 40,000 people.²⁹ In fact, it was said at the time, "Scarcely an evening passes in which some half dozen or more temperance meetings are not held in this and the adjacent cities,"³⁰ and "Of Brooklyn's 40,000 inhabitants . . . 18,000 or 20,000 are teetotallers."³¹

The Catholic Temperance and Total Abstinence Societies formed colorful parades on St. Patrick's Day and the Fourth of July on their way to church for Mass and a sermon and then dinner.³² One such procession, several miles long and coming from Flushing, Jamaica, and Williamsburg, met at Fort Greene, was reviewed by the mayor and the Common Council, and marched to St. Paul's for a high Mass and a long sermon by Father Patrick Moriarty, O.S.A., of Philadelphia. The preacher sketched a picture of English misrule "with the pencil of a master," arousing "deep and powerful emotions."³³ On another occasion the Catholic Total Abstinence Societies of Harlem, Flushing, and Astoria assisted at Father Curran's Mass at Astoria, heard a "good sermon"

by Father Michael McCarron of New York, and proceeded to Flushing for the blessing of the new church.³⁴

Father Mathew's visit to America, a few years later, increased interest in sobriety. He reached New York on June 28, 1849, was honored by a civic reception, and was given the use of City Hall for two weeks.³⁵ At Brooklyn, on July 11, he was received by the mayor and council, and in a week he pledged 7,500 at St. Paul's alone.³⁶ Then, although quite ill, he travelled 37,000 miles, visiting over 300 towns and cities in 25 states and pledging over 600,000 persons. President Zachary Taylor dined him, Henry Clay began a subscription for him, and Dr. William Ellery Channing of Boston declared history recorded no similar revolution. Before leaving for Ireland in November, 1851, he revisited St. Paul's.³⁷ Father Mathew died at Cork, five years later, after a heroic life in which he had pledged 7,000,000 people.³⁸ But while many took the pledge, others continued to imbibe, and in 1848 Brooklyn had 6,000 or 7,000 liquor establishments, generally unlicensed, and in 1851, a flourishing liquor trade.³⁹ However, parish temperance and abstinence societies prospered a while longer and the decorous behavior of Catholic people on parish excursions and picnics, which had begun to feature Catholic life, evoked praise from the secular press and priests alike.⁴⁰

The Catholic press and the rising volume of Catholic books were also potent factors in promoting Catholic life. Parish sextons, teachers, and proprietors of book stores served as agents for the press.⁴¹ Downtown Brooklyn had two well-furnished Catholic book shops, one of which, Michael Nevin's Cheap Book Store at 176 Fulton Street, had "constantly on hand a large assortment of Catholic school and miscellaneous books, and all new books, periodicals, reviews, magazines and weekly papers as soon as issued."⁴² Thomas O'Donnell's Brooklyn Catholic Book Store at 252 Fulton Street advertised, "A constant supply of Catholic works . . . on moderate terms."⁴³ There was an equal number of Catholic book stores in Williamsburg by the end of the period. The prolific pens of Dr. Jedediah V. Huntington and of Father Pise were adding to Catholic letters, and William Carleton's delineations of Irish peasant life aroused nostalgic memories in the transplanted Irish.⁴⁴

If Brooklyn Catholics, recently arrived, with little education, money, or prestige, were not welcomed into the exclusively Protestant cultural circles, they soon began to enjoy a worthy culture of their own. America had not itself reached that stage of economic development which must precede the flowering of conscious art, and lectures and sacred concerts given in church and elsewhere were prompted primarily by the need to secure funds for religious purposes. Yet from the lectures and concerts promoted by the Catholic parishes, from their periodicals, books, and libraries, and from their literary-debating associations and schools an older Catholic culture began to revive.

The music in few churches surpassed that sung, often by European celebrities, at high Mass and sacred concerts at St. Paul's and St. Charles Borromeo's.⁴⁵ Frequent addresses, often learned lectures, were given in the churches by distinguished visiting clergymen, and Irish and Catholic lecturers invaded the assembly places of aristocrats.⁴⁶ Orestes Brownson lectured before 1,500 people at the Hamilton Literary Association in December, 1842. He was highly regarded by the Irish and, shortly after his conversion, he accepted the invitation of the Young Friends of Ireland to address them at their annual dinner, for "all good men are anxious to relieve the ignominy of their native land," and they sought "to improve the degraded state of their countrymen both in America and in Ireland." Father Walsh was not satisfied with the "miserable reports" in the city's newspapers of the truly able speech on real civil and religious liberty, so the papers agreed to print the proceedings in full.⁴⁷ Converts were listened to as eagerly then as now. Dr. John Forbes, convert pastor from New York, lectured on miracles.⁴⁸ Dr. Huntington, convert and country-wide lecturer, spoke at the Athenaeum on literary subjects, including Nathaniel Hawthorne and English society as depicted by Thackeray.⁴⁹ Father Pise had lectured in Brooklyn for a period of years and after taking up residence here he established his St. Charles Literary Institute. A favorite topic with him was St. Thomas More.⁵⁰ In 1849 Sylvester Malone began his Catholic Institute in Williamsburg with such celebrities as Pise, Lt. William S. J. Rosecrans, a distinguished convert destined to become a famous general, Father Schneller, Father John T. Roddan of the Boston *Pilot*,

McMaster of the *Freeman's Journal*, Father Jeremiah Cummings of New York, and others.⁵¹

More formal educational effort appeared in the establishment of parish schools. Brooklyn Catholics witnessed the unsuccessful attempt of Bishop Hughes to secure justice for Catholic pupils in the public schools and for Catholic schools as well. When the forces of bigotry and secularism triumphed, Catholics took the only alternative. Thereafter almost as soon as a new parish started, a school was begun. It was located in the church basement, the church sacristy or choir loft, the rectory or convent parlor. By the time the parish built its second, larger church, a school building had been erected or the old church was remodelled to serve the purpose. The girls' "castle" of 1846, at St. James', was the first building designed for school purposes; the second was the boys' school in 1851; the third was St. Michael's school in Flushing, Queens, in 1853.

During this period there were no schools in present Nassau (the parish in Elmont had the first in 1857), nor in Suffolk (where in Sag Harbor the first was opened in 1860). In Kings County there were church-basement schools at St. James' in 1823 and at St. Paul's beginning in 1838; Holy Trinity opened its school in 1841; Assumption, in 1843; St. Patrick's, Kent Avenue, followed in about 1844; and SS. Peter and Paul's, about 1846; both St. Charles Borromeo's and Holy Cross opened schools in 1852; St. Joseph's and St. John the Evangelist's possibly had theirs by 1853. There were then, by the end of 1853, a total of nine and possibly eleven free elementary schools for boys and girls, besides the girls' pay academies that existed at St. James', from 1833 on, and at St. Paul's in 1847. The attendance figures of only six of these parish schools are available for the year 1853. They totalled about 2,200 pupils, of whom St. James' taught 500 boys and 150 girls; St. Paul's, 500; Holy Trinity, 140; SS. Peter and Paul's, 500-600; Holy Cross, 125; St. Michael's, Flushing, 200. At least 1,500 of these children were residents of Brooklyn before its amalgamation with Williamsburg in 1855—a notable number, since only 6,338 of the 35,401 youth of Brooklyn attended its public schools.⁵² New York State had no compulsory education law until 1874 and no attempt at enforcement was made until 1877.⁵³ For the figures missing

from the record we may safely add 300 or 400 to those given above, making a conservative total of 2,500 parish school children.

The private lay-conducted schools, often under pastoral supervision, also gave indispensable help during the initial stages, for in Brooklyn, as in Ireland at that time, such schools helped to supplement the few church schools. Gradually more sisters came to teach the girls, while laymen and the Christian Brothers, who arrived in 1851, taught the older boys. The teaching staff of the Church on Long Island by the end of 1853 was comprised of about three brothers and eleven sisters from the three religious communities—the Christian Brothers, the Sisters of Charity, and the Sisters of St. Dominic—and an undetermined number of laymen and lay women. School equipment, curriculum, and methods, as in the public schools, doubtless left much to be desired, although an increasing number of Catholic textbooks was becoming available. All told, it was a remarkable achievement, and the hard struggle to maintain the Catholic schools would bring rich dividends in the years to come.

The girls' boarding academy conducted by the Religious of the Sacred Heart from 1844 to 1847 at Ravenswood was an interesting episode in the pre-diocesan history of education. The hopes of Bishop Dubois in October, 1827, for such a New York foundation⁵⁴ were not realized until Madam Princess Gallitzin arrived on May 6, 1841, with Mother Aloysia Hardy and three other nuns of her community. That summer they rented the Cleary mansion, on the corner of Houston and Mulberry Streets, New York, and opened their academy.⁵⁵ A comprehensive course was taught the year round, except during August, for \$250 tuition and extras.⁵⁶ By December there were 13 religious and 46 children, "with great emulation for studies but very cold toward God."⁵⁷

Brooklyn children attended the school and a Brooklyn site was discussed that June for "the advantages of fresh air" but the idea was dismissed as the location was "too far out in the country."⁵⁸ However, in 1844 the country school idea was revived, and on August 8 Mother Hardy⁵⁹ bought Sunswick House, a large colonial dwelling, one-third of a mile west of Sunswick Creek in Ravenswood, Long Island, five miles from New York.⁶⁰ It was a mile south of Astoria, in the neighborhood of present Vernon

Avenue at about 40th or 41st Avenue, a few hundred feet north of the present Queensboro Bridge. Many of the wealthy, drawn by the beauty of the place, had country seats in the neighborhood.⁶¹ Contemporaries said the view of the Thames at Windsor scarcely compared with it, and the school's advertisements indulged in poetic descriptions of the site.⁶²

The community moved in on August 28, 1844. Father Curran of nearby Astoria offered the first Mass on September 3, and the poor Irish people of the neighborhood serenaded the religious for two nights. On Sunday the 8th, Curran, accompanied by his parishioners, offered Mass. Bishops Hughes and McCloskey were frequent visitors at the house and among other priestly visitors were Fathers Bacon and Lockland (Loughlin). After some months Father Valentine Borgana (Burgos) became chaplain.⁶³

The school prospered until by the end of 1846 there were 40 religious and 67 girls in residence. Religious were received and some died; the pupils made vestments and held bazaars for the poor.⁶⁴ Then gossip reached Paris that the establishment did not conform to the highest French ideals of the society. Bishop Hughes and Mother Hardy refuted the rumor, but Ravenswood was abandoned and the school removed to the Lorillard estate at Manhattanville in February, 1847. Distance was probably the determining cause.⁶⁵

The year after the departure of the religious another teaching community came to Brooklyn and remained for an even shorter time. They were the Brothers of the Holy Cross whose community had but recently made their American headquarters at Notre Dame du Lac in Indiana. Father Drouelle, the visitor from their motherhouse at Le Mans, France, urged them to accept the invitation that had been extended to teach the older boys at Assumption and at St. James'. Accordingly, a director, Brother Vincent, and two principals, Brothers Aloysius and Basil, accompanied by Brothers Ignatius, Gatian, and Victor left Notre Dame for Brooklyn on October 27, 1848. They rented quarters at 108 York Street, "which commands a beautiful view," and from there they taught 120 boys in the two schools. Father Bacon, who seems to have borne the responsibility in Brooklyn for their coming, also hoped to secure other brothers for the orphanage which was to begin in

May, 1849. But, "although the people were well pleased with the schools," the brothers left Brooklyn either in the fall of 1849 or in 1850. Dissatisfaction with their convent accommodations and classroom equipment and the lack of sufficient support from both the parish and the motherhouse appear to have been the reasons.⁶⁶

Solicitude for orphans continued to characterize Catholic life. The new orphanage at St. Paul's served for a while also as a boarding school. In 1840 it housed 17 orphans, 10 boarders, and four or five sisters.⁶⁷ Because of crowding, a policy of placing children in private homes until 18 years of age was begun in March, 1840.⁶⁸ That failed to relieve the situation, so the boarding school was closed in May, 1842.⁶⁹ But the orphanage became crowded again and at the beginning of May, 1845, funds were sought to enlarge the building.⁷⁰ Meanwhile, Father Schneller rented a house for the male orphans on Butler Street.⁷¹ An attempt to secure a model farm for the boys in Flatbush was thwarted by unfriendly residents,⁷² so a "durable and commodious" building was erected for them on Clinton Street. It was opened in April, 1850.⁷³ The next year the girls' orphanage, now accommodating 43 children, was enlarged to twice its former size.⁷⁴ By the end of 1853 there were seven sisters and 80 girls at St. Paul's Female Orphanage and 50 or more boys at the male orphanage under the care of Michael Burke and his wife.⁷⁵ The Orphan Asylum Society alternated its meetings between the school rooms of St. James' and St. Paul's and the respective pastors attended.⁷⁶ Financial support for the orphans came largely from the Christmas and Easter collections and an occasional charity sermon.⁷⁷ The directors felt that each parish should have an annual charity sermon but Bishop Hughes left the matter to the discretion of the pastors.⁷⁸

St. Paul's bore the brunt of the cost and was the scene of most of the charity sermons. Dr. Patrick Moriarty, O.S.A., of Philadelphia, was a frequent preacher and Dr. Power and other New York priests continued coming occasionally for the same purpose.⁷⁹ The language of the appeals for the orphanage, which today might be regarded as naive, was apparently effective advertising in that day. On one occasion after the readers of the *New York Catholic Register* of October 31, 1839, were told that the asylum "may be considered as a young tree in absolute necessity of being

watered by the streams of charity," \$600 was raised.⁸⁰ In 1840, after Moriarty preached, the same paper declared: "We understand a very large collection was taken up—indeed we do not see how it could be otherwise, for it appears to us that the most sordid soul must have been elevated above all mean considerations by appeals clothed in such language, urged by such powers of eloquence as those made by the gifted divine."⁸¹ Besides doctrinal explanations and moral exhortations, the charms of music and other entertainment were also invoked to raise funds, especially when a new building was under way.⁸² The Ladies' Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society conducted a number of successful fairs for the institution.⁸³ The Irish societies, especially the Emerald Benevolent Association through their annual ball, also gave substantial aid.⁸⁴

Of enduring help to the orphans was the organization by Cornelius Heeney on August 6, 1845, of the Brooklyn Benevolent Society to administer his estate. The charter of the society declared:

One-fifth of the rents, issues and income of the said estate and of said Corporation shall be annually expended in supplying poor persons residing in Brooklyn . . . gratuitously with fuel during the winter; one-tenth thereof shall also be expended in gratuitously supplying poor children attending school in Brooklyn . . . with shoes and stockings or other articles of clothing absolutely necessary for their health and protection during that season. . . . The sum of two hundred and fifty dollars . . . shall be expended quarterly in the payment of a teacher of said poor children in spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic; and the whole clear surplus shall be applied solely to the support, maintenance and education of poor orphan children between the ages of four and fourteen.

. . . The relief of Catholic poor . . . [is] not meant to prohibit the Society from relieving poor persons without distinction, when either an excess of funds or the urgency for relief may render it necessary and expedient.⁸⁵

At the first meeting Mayor Thomas G. Talmadge of Brooklyn eulogized Heeney. Bishop Hughes was elected president; James Friel, treasurer; William H. Peck, secretary; and Patrick Halegan, agent. Heeney conveyed the property to the society on September 17, 1845. During the year ending March 1, 1851, the society gave \$2,258 to the Orphan Asylum Society.⁸⁶

Almost no support came from public funds, although the state for years had been receiving head money from many Catholic immigrants and had applied it liberally to Protestant institutions.⁸⁷ The first grant discovered was \$100 given in 1840 by the corporation of the City of Brooklyn to the Ladies' Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society.⁸⁸ The Orphan Asylum Society itself asked the Common Council for help in 1841 but no grants have been discovered before 1845 when \$100 was again given, while \$200 was given the Brooklyn Catholic Orphan Asylum.⁸⁹

The State Legislature voted in 1848 to allow orphanages a share of school funds, but the Catholic orphans in Brooklyn received nothing because the sisters declined the scholastic examinations necessary for certification, alleging that their rule forbade it, according to Stephen B. Brophy, a director of the Orphan Asylum Society.⁹⁰ Probably some kind of agreement was reached, for thereafter small allotments, beginning with \$141.04 in 1850, were received. The amounts, distributed through the Board of Education, became a matter of dispute between Brophy and the board, and in 1851 the court denied the Catholic society a share in the common school fund but allowed it to participate in school money raised by city taxes.⁹¹

The procurement of funds for the maintenance and expansion of religion, always a problem for bishops and priests, was doubly aggravated by the increasing numbers of Faithful who brought their poverty with them to this country. However, the most pressing needs somehow met with a generous response.

To finance the seminary at Fordham, Bishop Hughes instituted an annual parish collection. The first, held in 1839, yielded nearly \$10,000, one-sixth of which came from the two Brooklyn parishes.⁹² Offerings from Brooklyn rose in 1851 and 1852 to a quarter of the diocesan total.⁹³ A catholicity of interest appeared in parish collections for Indian missions,⁹⁴ for Villa Nova College,⁹⁵ for the seminary in Chicago,⁹⁶ for the Nashville cathedral,⁹⁷ for St. Stephen's school, New York City,⁹⁸ for the Bishop of Vancouver,⁹⁹ for the Catholic University of Ireland,¹⁰⁰ and even for the indemnity fund for John Henry Newman,¹⁰¹ to mention a few.

For the sepulture of the dead, Brooklyn and Long Island Catholics had parish cemeteries at Sag Harbor, Smithtown, Glen Cove,

Westbury, Jamaica, Astoria, Holy Trinity, SS. Peter and Paul's, St. Paul's, and St. James'. They also used the Catholic cemeteries in New York, namely, St. Patrick's (1813-1833), on the site of the present cathedral, the 11th Street Cemetery (1833-1848), and thereafter Calvary on Newtown Creek, after it opened in August, 1848.¹⁰²

St. James' Cemetery had been enlarged and some six or seven thousand burials were made before the last took place on May 31, 1849.¹⁰³ But long before it closed, St. James' proved inadequate and other places were used. One such was the Catholic section of the public Wallabout or Canton Street Cemetery, adjacent to the east of the future St. Edward's rectory.¹⁰⁴ Its five acres were bounded by Auburn Place, North Portland Avenue, and Canton or St. Edward Street and extended north nearly to Park Avenue. From 1824 to 1854 it received the bodies of nearly 2,500 Catholic dead.¹⁰⁵ Greenwood Cemetery, opened in 1840, was also used, with the Catholic graves being blessed.¹⁰⁶

A large general cemetery had become imperative, the more so since, after the heavy cholera mortality of the summer of 1849, the City of Brooklyn forbade any more burials within its limits.¹⁰⁷ Earlier in the year the clergy and laity at a public meeting had determined to buy a 60-acre farm in Flatbush, four miles from the city, "for the purpose of erecting thereon an orphan asylum on a large scale, using the land as a model farm for orphan boys and reserving a small portion for the purposes of a cemetery."¹⁰⁸

Accordingly, on March 20, 1849, Stephen B. Brophy, acting for the committee, paid \$600 to John A. Lott, attorney for the owner, his incompetent brother, John R. Lott. It was agreed that \$2,400 more be paid by May 1, whereupon a mortgage would be executed for the final sum of \$3,000 and the deed would be delivered. When May 1 arrived, Lott refused to proceed further unless the deed he had signed covenanted that none of the land be used by "the foreigners" for a cemetery. The court upheld him and rescinded the sale unless "the foreigners" agreed not to bury. A few days later, Lott, still in possession of the \$600, sold the land to another, and the court confirmed this sale on May 7. The case might have been carried further, for Brophy was advised that the Supreme

Court would void the second sale, but that the orphans had no money "to compel a rich adversary to do them justice."¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless in June, 1849, Bishop Hughes bought from James Duffy and Mary, his wife, for \$2,700, 17 acres of land near the junction of the Flatbush Road (Flatbush Avenue) to Flatlands Neck and the Clove Road (Bedford Avenue). Part of ancient Corlaer's Flatt, the property lay in the geographical center of Kings County. The deed made no mention of the purchaser's intention and imposed no limitation on the use of the property.¹¹⁰ Opposition to the cemetery persisted, however, and the first funeral on July 13, 1849, "was halted by a crowd of Flatbush farmers, drawn up across the road, armed with all sorts of weapons, and vowing that they would prevent the burial."¹¹¹ During the excitement the body was brought by a circuitous route to the cemetery. The grounds were placed under the supervision of Father McDonough of St. James'. The "Rules for the Administration of the Cemetery of the Holy Cross at Flatbush, L.I., August 1849," were the same as those at St. James'. The revenue was to be used for the cost and improvement, then to liquidate any St. James' Church debt over \$10,000. Any further accumulation was to be spent for the benefit of religion in Brooklyn and on Long Island as the bishop directed.¹¹² Oddly, there is no record of the place of burial of those who died between the closing of St. James' Cemetery on May 31 and the opening of Holy Cross on July 13.¹¹³

Anti-Catholic feeling was as strong in Brooklyn and Long Island as elsewhere in the country during the last decade of the pre-diocesan era. Here, too, it mounted to a violent climax in 1844 and as the period closed was rising once more. The press of Long Island from one end to another promoted it. The Sag Harbor *Corrector* and the Brooklyn *Star* were the worst offenders and when the Democratic Brooklyn *Eagle* befriended the Irish or their Church, the reason seemed to be political. The following specimen appeared in the Sag Harbor *Corrector* of November 13, 1841:

Two ladies, Miss Juliana Saxton of St. Mary's County, Md., now Sister Veronica, and Miss Julia Wilcocks of New York, now Sister Xavaria, took the black veil at the Carmelite Nunnery in Asquith Street [Baltimore] yesterday. . . . Miss Juliana and Miss Julia, alias Sister Veronica and Sister Xavaria (pity they could not have changed

their names by another process, don't believe but what it would have suited them full as well) had better have stayed at home and mended stockings, raised chickens, if they could not have raised something better, or 'chronicled small beer' and if we mistake not, they'll think so themselves in one short twelve-month.

The Brooklyn *Star* continued advertising and selling anti-Catholic books replete, it said, with "the most revolting incidents in sensuality and crime," but it suggested graciously that allowance be made for the authors' anti-Catholic feelings.¹¹⁴

On April 2, 1844, during the spring election campaign,¹¹⁵ some Native Americans with music and banners assembled for a provocative address at Boerum Place and Baltic Street, during which commenting Irish were knocked down. Later that day, at South Ferry, a strong Irish party mauled the Nativists.¹¹⁶ Rioting participated in by New York Nativists broke out two days later at Dean, Court, and Wyckoff Streets until stopped by two companies of militia. A torch parade of 500 to 600 men past St. Paul's Church followed next night. A death march was played, the church was cursed, and some Irish homes were broken into. At Dean and Court Streets 40 or 50 Irish armed with bludgeons opposed the ruffians, and the fighting spread to Atlantic Street until Mayor Sprague intervened.¹¹⁷ St. James' Church was also threatened that same year by a mob bent on burning it, but Father Bacon of Assumption, later to suffer Know-Nothing fury in Maine, guarded it with his parishioners.¹¹⁸ It was not an isolated instance when some Irish made common cause with some German laborers, molested by Native Americans at Atlantic docks, and accompanied them back to New York.¹¹⁹

Street corners,¹²⁰ lecture halls, and some Protestant churches echoed to the dangers of Catholicism in well-advertised addresses, a few samples of which will suffice. Thus, the Reverend Mr. Chaules, "fierce anti-Romanist," lectured in Brooklyn on the St. Bartholomew's Massacre.¹²¹ The Reverend Jules Delanny, a "converted French Jesuit," preached at the First Presbyterian Church.¹²² Ex-monk Giustiniani, sponsored by the *North American Protestant*, lectured to gentlemen only at Brooklyn Institute on the secrets of women's confessions.¹²³ The Baptist Protestant Society of Brooklyn held monthly meetings to discuss the Pope

and to circulate anti-Catholic books.¹²⁴ It was solemnly announced that the Reverend E. Leahey, ex-Trappist French monk and late of Marshall College, Pennsylvania, "will by Divine permission lecture on Romanism," wearing monastic dress and proving the monks' conspiracy against the French government for which they were expelled.¹²⁵ Professor Secchi di Basalis lectured at the Brooklyn Institute against Pius IX.¹²⁶ There was a lecture at the Brooklyn Female Academy on that same Pope and Jesuit intrigue in Switzerland.¹²⁷ A. C. Pitrat, "formerly a Roman Catholic priest," now a Universalist clergyman, lectured in the Universalist Church, Monroe Place, on free interpretation of the Bible and the inconsistency of Rome's doctrines.¹²⁸ In Williamsburg, Thomas Francis Meagher, who should have known better, lectured against the Church and in favor of Kossuth and Mazzini.¹²⁹

Catholic inmates of public institutions were frequently deprived of the ministrations of their religion. Often enough when a priest was allowed to enter such places he was given scant courtesy.¹³⁰ This rather general attitude of officialdom and the characteristic reaction of Bishop Hughes were illustrated in a dispute between Father Edward Briody and the officers of the County Alms House in Flatbush. After the dispute the Board of Superintendents "resolved that the Rev. Mr. Briody be and he is hereby requested not to visit any department belonging to the almshouse from and after this date, he having shown a disposition not to comply with the rules of the almshouse department."¹³¹ Apparently the priest placed the matter in the hands of Bishop Hughes, for the latter wrote to Colonel Crook of Flatbush on March 2, 1850:

I can perceive that the prohibition refers to the individual and not the ministry. What has he done? . . . if improper, I won't shield [him]. . . . But if the facts of the case as known to you do not warrant so unprecedented a measure, I am disposed to ascertain whether or not the rights of conscience as regards Catholic Priests and Catholic people may be trifled with and set aside, whether in Almshouses or out of them, at the discretion of any Board of Superintendants. If so it is time that we Catholics and the World should know it.

It is no slight matter that a Board of Superintendants should step in between the deathbed of a dying Catholic and the minister of Religion . . . and thus compel him, an American citizen, one perhaps who has served his country, to pass into the presence of his God, deprived

in the last awful scene of existence of his rights of conscience and of the exercise of his religion. . . .

On the same day the bishop wrote also to Superintendent Stillwell:

But on the other hand so severe a censure as is implied by the resolution of your Board cannot be overlooked by me if I would protect the honor and character of my Clergy.

I may observe at once that whatever rights are secured to American citizens in the Constitution by the laws of the country are equally secured to them in an Alms House as out of it. Among these the first in dignity is the freedom of religion and the right of conscience appertaining to the Catholics who may be inmates of the Institution over which your Board has been temporarily appointed to preside. Your resolution punishes them and deprives them of their religious privileges under the plea of a rebuke addressed to Mr. Briordy.

Stillwell's answer of March 20 was not found, but Hughes replied on March 26:

. . . The official administration of your trust is a matter with which I of course have no right to interfere. My only solicitude was about the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Briordy. I wished to know whether he had done any act that would permit so extraordinary an exercise of your power as a vote of expulsion. I have had strong statements from disinterested parties, going to prove that he had done no such act and whilst according to your statement he may have been indiscreet, I do not see any reason alleged by yourselves which would authorize on your part so extraordinary and unprecedented a measure. You have taken upon yourselves to decide that the spiritual benefits of religion shall be denied to the Catholic inmates of the establishment under your care. This is not in my opinion within your province to do. In this country freedom of conscience is a constitutional right and extends not only to the Almshouse but to the Prison and even to the Gallows. You have in the next place inflicted a stigma, so far as your public acts can have that effect, upon the character of a clergyman, and in this country the laws and public opinion sustain the character of individuals until it shall have been proved that they have done something to forfeit the protection of both. This I respectfully submit is not proven in your own statement and a question has arisen involving a principle which must be settled, namely, whether or not persons entrusted with the honorable duties which you have been appointed to fulfill have a right to act in the manner in which you have done. . . . If you adhere to your resolution of expulsion . . . he is bound to appeal to other tribunals for redress.¹³²

What the alleged offense was is not evident. Referring to difficulty at the Flatbush Hospital between Mr. Vache, the keeper, and "Rev. Mr. Briordy who is accused of rude and violent conversation," the *Star* of April 10, 1850, observed that as a rule Catholic clergymen were extremely gentlemanly and quiet in their deportment.

No data have been found telling how the contretemps was resolved, but the offenders had met a doughty foeman in the last ordinary of the diocese of New York who presided over the destinies of the Catholic Church on Long Island.

The number of souls sharing the Catholic life in Brooklyn and Long Island at various years in the pre-diocesan period, forms matter for interesting speculation.¹³³ The records are incomplete, the civil more so than the ecclesiastical, and unknown factors are involved. We cannot know the precise answer, but we can reach an approximation, based on civilian death rates and on Catholic interments, seemingly more reliable than civilian birth rates in conjunction with annual Catholic baptisms.¹³⁴ We may conclude that by the end of 1853 there were in Kings County at least 48,000 Catholics in a general population of about 181,000, and on all of Long Island there were, perhaps, 60,000 Catholics among its 260,000 inhabitants.

BISHOP LOUGHLIN COMES TO BROOKLYN

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE FIRST BISHOP of the diocese of Brooklyn (1853-1891) was to coincide with a momentous period of world history. In quickening tempo the last half of the 19th century uprooted tradition, abolished privilege, achieved scientific miracles, and extended political freedom and general education. Yet the highest hopes of that age were never realized. Its achievements fell under the control of extremists; "democrats" who justified the rule of brutal majorities; nationalists who placed country above international justice; liberals who repudiated all authority superior to man; scientists who tried to discredit faith in the supernatural; educators who assumed that Christianity was moribund. Its last three decades were the seed time for the totalitarianism, personal dictatorship, social degradation, and mechanized destruction of the first half of the century to follow.¹

Amazingly and despite all this, the universal Catholic Church not only survived but gained new strength under the leadership of two remarkable popes. Repeatedly throughout his pontificate of 32 years Pius IX raised his voice against evil, present and to come; and, even as he was despoiled of his temporal possessions, he serenely defined in the Vatican Council the nature of faith, the authority of the Church, and the infallibility of the Roman Pontiff. The accession of Leo XIII in 1878 was followed by that Pope's series of brilliant analyses and solutions of the great moral problems that beset mankind.

While the Old World was experiencing this intellectual and spiritual ferment, the youthful democracy of the West was passing

through a period of unprecedented material development. From the exploitation of its vast natural resources, its rapid growth in industrialism, and its huge supply of immigrant labor, the United States emerged a first-class world power. Yet even as material comforts multiplied and standards of living rose, the gap between rich and poor widened,² there began a lamentable religious decline among the people and, except for the Catholic and a few other denominational schools, an almost complete secularization of education. Behind the material progress and the industrial, political, and religious conflicts in the young republic was the pressure of a steadily mounting immigration, largely Irish at first, then German, then, finally, eastern and south European. Chiefly because of the immigrants, the national population increased between 1850 and 1890 from 23,000,000 to 63,000,000.³

Rapid though that growth was, the Catholic Church grew twice as fast as the nation, for in the same period the number of Faithful increased from 1,606,000 to 8,909,000.⁴ Indeed, the Catholic growth was too rapid for the adequate fulfillment of its spiritual needs. Moreover, the efforts of the Church were hampered by poverty and the last decades of the century were disturbed by controversies within the American Church, while anti-Catholicism remained a constantly recurring phenomenon. These characteristics of American Church history were largely verified in Brooklyn and Long Island. But to see in proper perspective the historic development of local Catholicism it is useful first to outline briefly a few salient features of the social scene that served as setting for the 38 years of Bishop Loughlin's episcopate.

Growth was the chief characteristic also of the city of Brooklyn and of Long Island. From 1850 to 1890 Kings County grew sixfold in population, from 138,000 to 838,000; while all of Long Island grew fivefold, from 212,000 to over 1,000,000.⁵ During the period Brooklyn remained the third largest city in the nation with approximately one-third of its population foreign-born. In 1865 half of the 100,000 foreign-born was Irish; one-quarter, German. By 1890 the 94,000 Germans were the most numerous of the 261,700 foreign-born. By that time also sizable groups of Italians, Poles, and Lithuanians had settled in Brooklyn and Williamsburg.⁶

The improvement and extension of transportation facilities

were consequences of that growth and factors in its diffusion. The railroad began to open up the Island's south shore, reaching Islip in 1861, Patchogue in 1866, and Montauk in 1883.⁷ Before the end of the century it entered the north shore towns as well. Horse-drawn trolleys replaced stagecoaches on Myrtle and Flushing Avenues in 1854 and trundled along Fifth Avenue to Greenwood in 1859. They travelled to Bath Beach in 1861 and to Williamsburg and Flushing in 1871.⁸ By 1890 most of the horsecars had yielded to electrified trolleys. Brooklyn's first "L" train began operation in May, 1885, from Fulton Ferry to Broadway,⁹ despite the protests at this "public crime" which frightened both horses and people with the noise, smoke, and cinders.¹⁰

By 1868 14 ferries connected Brooklyn with New York.¹¹ An English visitor, a few years later, noted the "huge castles" rushing madly across the East River at headlong speed with frightful collisions apparently inevitable, while impatient Yankees pressed each other to be first ashore. But the passing of the ferries was foreshadowed by the opening on May 17, 1883, of the Brooklyn Bridge, the greatest architectural achievement of the day and still more beautiful than its subsequent rivals.¹² The *Catholic Review* foresaw that steam transit and the bridge would crowd Brooklyn and that "rapid transit" would create unprecedented demand for new Catholic churches.¹³

The pressure of the city growth dispersed Brooklyn's citadel of gentility on the Heights to the dignified brownstone homes, dark within and without, that rose in the Hill section of Clinton Avenue, on Bedford Avenue, and on Park Slope. Ridgewood expanded, too, and Flatbush and New Utrecht began losing their bucolic simplicity.¹⁴ After the Civil War, Prospect Park and Eastern and Ocean Parkways were laid out and the city began to cultivate some natural beauty.¹⁵

The city of Brooklyn was, in the meanwhile, becoming a great manufacturing center. In 1865 it had fewer than 500 factories; in 1890 there were over 10,000. Within those years the annual value of their products increased five times to nearly \$270,000,000.¹⁶ At the same time Brooklyn's preeminence as a port was fixed.¹⁷ The extensive shore line from Newtown Creek to Bay Ridge was alive with shipping, warehouses, factories, and gas and oil refineries.¹⁸

The tremendous immigrant infiltration left its mark on the politics of Brooklyn, where from 1868 to 1893, save for six years, the Democratic party was dominant under the leadership of an immigrant's son, Hugh McLaughlin (1826-1904).¹⁹ If the immigrant was scarcely represented in the civic councils of 1853, he and his son were well entrenched by 1891. In that year an Irishman presided over the Common Council of Aldermen, and half the members bore German or Irish names. Of 383 other city officials 153 bore Irish names, as did 60 of 144 county officers; 15 of 50 in the Kings County judiciary; 24 of 76 in the city judiciary; and 24 of 49 city police officials. The city Board of Education listed 10 Irish names among its 45 members; while of 432 chief officers, school principals, heads of departments, special teachers, and committee members 77 bore Irish or German names. In contrast to this, of the 96 town and county officers listed for Queens and Suffolk only 7 had Irish names.²⁰

There were gravely significant changes in the moral and religious life of the people during the period. Narrow Puritanism gradually yielded to more liberal and, indeed, secularist views of life. After a fierce contest the city in 1857 allowed street cars to run on the Sabbath.²¹ A few years later, some ministers condemned the opening of the National Academy in New York on Sunday, as Sabbath desecration, and play swings in Prospect Park were forbidden children on that day for the same reason.²² While avoiding such extreme narrowness, the Catholic papers deplored the spread of vulgarity and upheld the sanctity of the Sabbath. The *Metro-politan*, lamenting Barnum's prize baby-show in New York, said: "Alas for the degeneracy of the age . . . [children] exhibited like cattle to the gaze of the vulgar crowd."²³ The *Catholic Review* criticized Sunday theatricals,²⁴ but it noted that the Stock Exchange now observed Christmas and Good Friday.²⁵

A number of the Protestant ministers concentrated their attention on slavery and the evils of alcohol.²⁶ They were active recruiters of support for various reform movements, but a generation later they found their influence declining. They lamented the spread of divorce and religious indifferentism,²⁷ but they failed to realize that crusades, however worthy the cause, Sunday schools, and Anniversary Day parades were inadequate substitutes for ed-

ucation in the intellectual aspects of religion, and that increasingly secularized schools were cooperating with the more "liberal" ministers and lay preachers in cutting the ground from under their feet. By 1875 a dozen Protestant churches on the Heights were "gasping for breath," uniting congregations and selling their edifices.²⁸ Nevertheless, in 1891 the non-Catholic denominations possessed 291 churches in Brooklyn, 31 elsewhere in Kings, 140 in Queens, and 72 in Suffolk.²⁹ In general, they remained strongly antipathetic toward Catholicism.

From this kaleidoscopic and brief preview of the world, the Church, and Brooklyn during the episcopate of Bishop Loughlin, it is a far cry to the soft mists and quiet green fields of Ireland earlier in that same century. But it is there that one must turn, nevertheless, to learn something of the man who directed the Church in Brooklyn during those momentous years.

John Loughlin, the first bishop of the newly created diocese of Brooklyn, was born on December 20, 1817, in the townland of Drumboniff in the northeast part of the parish of Clonduff, County Down, Ulster, and he was probably baptized the same day in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Cabra.³⁰ The bishop's father was a respectable peasant farmer; his mother was Mary McNulty. Some uncertainty prevails about the members of the bishop's immediate family.³¹ This is attributable at least in part to Brooklyn's first ordinary himself, who chose to mystify the enquiring reporters of the press,³² destroyed his personal papers, forbade the writing of his life,³³ and left almost no personal documents after him.³⁴ The bishop's collateral relatives included some distinguished persons.³⁵

Loughlin's birthplace was a small house near the Drumboniff Road, about 15 miles southwest of Downpatrick, the hallowed tomb of St. Patrick.³⁶ The land falls away from the house, then rises gradually in well divided fields, and disappears in the far-off hills. Here, from 1813 to 1829, Loughlin senior held four acres, three roods, and 18 square perches of rough land.³⁷ For it he paid the Marquis of Downshire, a rich and powerful landlord, an annual rent of £4: 13s: 2d.³⁸ Probably the young lad attended the small school at Fofanny, two and one-half miles distant. Catholic schools were illegal, and this one had been recently built by a

Protestant landlord, the Earl of Roden. About 45 children, mostly Catholic, attended it under its able teacher Michael Conlon, who was also a Catholic.³⁹

Just why Loughlin senior left for America is not known. We may surmise that he was under the same compulsion as many of his countrymen, viz., that it was almost impossible to make a living. But he was not evicted for non-payment of rent as were so many others.⁴⁰ He had ambitions for himself and his children. America called. He packed his few belongings, took a last look, and with his wife and the children, John and Catherine, left, probably late in 1829 or early in 1830, to embark on the wintry Atlantic.⁴¹

The family settled in Albany and lived at 172 Broadway. The father conducted a grocery at 78 Church Street⁴² and may have set himself up as a wheelwright at Church and Herkimer Streets.⁴³ The Loughlins attended St. Mary's, then the only Catholic church in Albany, at Pine and Chapel Streets.⁴⁴ Father Charles Smith, later of St. James' in Brooklyn, was, at the time, its pastor and he had recently opened a parish school. If young John Loughlin attended it,⁴⁵ it was not for long, however, for in March, 1830, he entered the Albany Academy conducted by the famous Latinist, the Reverend Dr. Peter Bullion,⁴⁶ and located a quarter-mile north of the State House. It offered a comprehensive eight-year course in the classics and science. School began with prayer and Scripture reading, and the pupils attended for six hours daily and 45 weeks annually. Quarterly fees ranged from \$4.00 to \$7.00.⁴⁷

Attendance at this school had no adverse effects on the young lad's Catholic faith, for John Loughlin served Father Smith's Mass⁴⁸ and determined to become a priest.⁴⁹ But Albany Academy, excellent though it was, was scarcely the place to train a candidate for the priesthood.⁵⁰ Accordingly, the boy left in 1832 or 1833⁵¹ and went to St. Peter's College at Chambly on the Richelieu River about 15 miles south of Montreal. It was a barracks-like structure that had been opened in 1826 by the pastor of Chambly, Father Peter Mignault (1784-1868).⁵² There he met some 60 students, including the future Bishop Joseph LaRocque, founder of the Sisters Adorers of the Precious Blood, and three or four students of the diocese of New York, among them Father James Doherty, later

of St. James', Brooklyn. Wearing the prescribed blue suit, young Loughlin went through a somewhat monastic day of prayer, study, and recreation, that began at 5:30 A.M.⁵³ But he did not remain long here, either.⁵⁴ He had come under the favorable notice of Bishop Dubois, and in February, 1834, he entered the seminary just opened at Nyack.⁵⁵ Its five students lived in the old farmhouse; but fire soon destroyed the new chapel and shortly thereafter Nyack was abandoned. Loughlin himself remained at the institution only a few months. His change of residence was the subject of three letters⁵⁶ that Dubois wrote Father Thomas R. Butler, president of Mount St. Mary's at Emmitsburg. On October 7, 1834, he wrote:

Could you not also prevail upon your board to admitt gratis a young American about 18 years old far advanced in his studies and capable to teach any class and to govern children. he is sensible, mild and prudent and my situation respecting him is particularly delicate—when he came he brought with him two hundred dollars the only condition I required to continue his clerical education and although I spent more than double that money for him I still would consider myself as bound to pay for him if I was able, but my funds are exhausted for the Present—Should I ever be able I would chearfully contribute my mite unless you find him, as I hope he will be, perfectly able to earn his education. he is born in Albany of worthy parents, though not able to carry him through and he will be an acquisition to religion.

Again he wrote to Butler on October 30:

I expect the young Albanian will have clothes enough to serve him the whole year—he has at any rate two winter suits and linen and stockings enough—should he want more he can be supported from home and I will see to it—as for teaching he is equally capable and willing. He has fine talents

The Bishop's last letter was dated November 5 and read:

The bearer of this, John Loughlin, is the young American whom you had the goodness to admitt at my request—his parents live in Albany and are much esteemed—he has fine talents from what I heard and is an amiable young man. I have no doubt that you will find him useful as a teacher—he was deceived about the travelling expenses which they told him were only \$8.00. I told him to take of the money left with him viz \$70 as much as will be necessary—and write to his father to send him the Ballance due which I know will be faithfully

sent. I would have advanced it myself if it was not too late to get it out of the bank.

So John Loughlin went to Mount St. Mary's College at Emmitsburg, affectionately called the Mountain and famous as the mother of priests and of bishops. It lay some 60 miles northwest of Baltimore in the foot-hills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, facing St. Joseph's, two miles to the east, where the Sisters of Charity conducted a girls' academy established by Mother Seton. A generation later the broken ranks of the Confederacy drifted back through here from its high-water mark at Gettysburg, but the old buildings and the log cabin of John Hughes, once a gardener, remain and the contour of hills and undulating pasture and farm lands have not changed.

In this hallowed and pleasant situation young Loughlin spent the next five years, paying for his tuition at least in part by his services to the college in accordance with the terms of Dubois' letters. He entered the modern equivalent of junior college and functioned as a prefect. In the fall of 1836 he began his study of theology and as one of 15 tutors conducted classes in fourth English, third arithmetic, and third reading.⁵⁷ There were then about 130 collegians and 27 seminarians, of whom 13 were studying theology.⁵⁸ They included such names as those of William H. Elder, John Larkin, John Harley, John McCaffrey, and the sons of George McCloskey of Brooklyn, later to be prominent in the American Church.⁵⁹ On June 9, 1839, he received minor orders at Dubois' request,⁶⁰ and at the end of the month he left for home.

Contrary to common belief, Loughlin did not return to finish at the Mount. On August 7, 1839, he wrote to Father John J. McCaffrey, then its president:

Reverend and dear Sir:

I consider it my duty that my place may be supplied, which I presume can easily be done, to inform you that I do not intend to return to the Mountain as it is not my father's wish that I should. He wishes that I would spend some time in the pursuit of ecclesiastical science without any interruption and therefore proposes to pay for my tuition in some institution where I may be more satisfactorily enabled to accomplish this. I presume you have no objections to my design.

Please to remember me most affectionately to the Rev. Messrs.

Flaut, Xaupi, Obermeyer and [Thomas] McCaffrey, and accepting best wishes for yourself and the institution

I have the honor to be, Rev. and dear Sir, yours

With great respect and affection

John Loughlin ⁶¹

On August 10 he entered St. Mary's Seminary at Baltimore. That day, Father Louis R. Deluol, S.S., superior (1829-1849) of the seminary, noted his arrival, after three years of theology at the Mountain, to complete his seminary course.⁶² Loughlin became the 10th student in theology at St. Mary's College and Seminary, then conducted by five French Sulpicians.⁶³ Obviously the change must have had the approval of the administrator of the diocese of New York.

As his last year of preparation for the priesthood drew toward its close, some scheme of further postgraduate studies, perhaps in Rome, whence John McCloskey had lately returned, perhaps a professorship at the Mount, was apparently proposed by Father John McCaffrey, for Bishop Hughes wrote to McCaffrey on September 19, 1840:

I have waited since the receipt of your favor dated the 10th to ascertain whether I could allow Mr. Loughlin to have the advantages of your plan. But, necessity knows no law. I hope the time is not far distant when the [sufficiency of ?] members of the clergy will allow the candidates to qualify themselves by more extensive studies. But I am now obliged to call Mr. Loughlin for ordination next month as mentioned by Mr. Starrs.⁶⁴

Accordingly on October 7, 1840, John Loughlin left Baltimore for his retreat and ordination in New York.⁶⁵ At St. Patrick's Cathedral on Wednesday, October 14, Bishop Hughes conferred on him the order of subdeacon and the next day that of deacon. On Sunday, October 18, along with Edward O'Neill and F. Coyle, "J. Loughlin was invested with the sacred degree of Holy Orders." ⁶⁶ The *Freeman's Journal*, October 24, reported:

The ceremony was long and of the most solemn and impressive character. Crowds of anxious spectators filled the aisles and gave much edification by their reverential devotion throughout. We had the gratification to be present on this interesting occasion and were deeply impressed with the dignified ease and pious confidence with which the

Bishop executed for the first time this highest of his episcopal functions.

The young priest was assigned as an assistant to Father Francis Ferrall of St. John's parish in Utica. He remained there from November 1 to January 3, 1841, during which time he attended the mission at Allegany and assisted the pastor at his death.⁶⁷ Then Bishop Hughes brought him to the cathedral in New York and into association with himself and Fathers William Starrs, John and George McCloskey, and the future bishops, James Roosevelt Bayley, John J. Conroy, and John McCloskey. It was an extremely busy assignment, with sudden calls to Bellevue Hospital. "A smart bustling little man with piercing dark eyes," Loughlin exercised "indefatigable labors among the poor" and the young men and women of the parish. His self-sacrifice during the cholera epidemic won high praise.⁶⁸ The baptism and marriage records of the old cathedral tell a notable story in his own clear handwriting, remarkably similar to that of Bishop Hughes, who also officiated at these sacraments. Between the dates of January 10, 1841, and October 16, 1853, young Loughlin administered baptism about 4,500 times, and from January 19, 1841, to October 16, 1853, he officiated at approximately 1,200 marriages.⁶⁹

Father Loughlin founded the first conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society at St. Patrick's in 1846⁷⁰ and he served as vice-president of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum.⁷¹ Bishop Hughes speedily recognized his administrative talents and in 1844 made him rector of the cathedral⁷² and five years later appointed him his vicar general.⁷³ He served as theologian to Hughes at the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1849 and at the First Plenary Council in 1852. But only after 1850 did his name begin to appear in the press as attending commencements, dedications, and funerals.

By this time the growth of the Church had posed the problem of new sees. It was natural that the Fathers of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in May, 1852, in recommending a number to the Holy See, should speak of Brooklyn.⁷⁴ It was just as natural that the name of the vicar general of the archdiocese of New York who was present at that council, should come to the fore. But although the archbishop did not waver in his choice of Loughlin for

the post, he manifested for a time some uncertainty as to the expediency of then erecting a diocese in Brooklyn. Some indecision appeared in a letter he wrote to Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick of Baltimore shortly after the Council:

The old routine of Episcopal duties has become so much increased and new ones so rapidly springing up in this See, that I shall rejoice when both New Jersey and Long Island, both most important and flourishing dioceses, shall have been taken off my shoulders. It is impossible for me to do justice to all. Still, I am willing to wait for our Provincial Synod in May (I hope)⁷⁵ to arrange what shall not have been provided for under the recommendation of the late Council. Brooklyn has now in the city 8 churches, we are building 2 more. When these are finished 5 more will be almost immediately required.⁷⁶

By August 30 he had made up his mind, for he wrote the Baltimore prelate that he would

petition the Holy See to leave both projected dioceses of Newark and Brooklyn in statu quo until after the bishops of this province shall have had the first Provincial Synod. . . . I shall write to the Cardinal Prefect in view of the embarrassments connected with the appointments for Newark and Brooklyn, requesting that for the present, the decision of the Holy See be suspended in regard to both. The interests of the Church will not suffer much by a delay of six months or a year which will give us time to see more clearly what should be done.⁷⁷

But the archbishop of Baltimore replied to Archbishop Hughes that the Sacred Congregation was likely to act on the appointments either the first Monday of the last month or of the present. In either case Hughes' suggestions and the remonstrance would be too late. No other meeting would be held until November when the acts of the council would be examined.⁷⁸ The archbishop of Baltimore, moreover, could not agree that Brooklyn and Newark be deferred.⁷⁹ But in November the intelligence was received that the request for delay had been effective in Rome and that the cardinals were disinclined to erect Brooklyn because of its proximity to New York.⁸⁰

With the arrival of the new year, however, Archbishop Hughes decided that Brooklyn and Newark were needed now and he wrote thus to the archbishop of Baltimore. The latter replied:

I myself should prefer Rev. J. Loughlin for any diocese, from the high character given him by yourself and the Bishop of Buffalo

[Timon], but I apprized the Propaganda that you are not disposed to part with him. The idea of making Brooklyn a See was scouted by some one who had visited N. York and considered it as a suburb; but I agree with you in thinking that it ought to be a bishopric and I should gladly see the nomination already made to take effect.⁸¹

A letter indicative of the changed sentiments of Hughes was probably dispatched to Rome but the cardinals cautiously postponed decision a while longer.⁸²

The questions of the see of Brooklyn and of its first bishop were finally settled on July 29, 1853, when Pope Pius IX issued the brief *De Incolumitate Christiani Gregis*, erecting Long Island as a distinct diocese with its episcopal see in the city of Brooklyn. On the same day he issued the bull *Apostolatus Officium*, appointing the Very Reverend John Loughlin, V.G., as its first ordinary. The documents arrived on September 13, 1853.⁸³

Bishop Loughlin was consecrated on Sunday, October 30, 1853, in old St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, by Archbishop Cajetan Bedini, Papal Nuncio to Brazil. Bishop John B. Fitzpatrick of Boston and Bishop Amadeus Rappe of Cleveland were co-consecrators. It was New York's second triple consecration, for on that day also the Reverend Louis de Goesbriand, vicar general of the diocese of Cleveland, was consecrated as bishop of the new see of Burlington, and the Reverend James Roosevelt Bayley, of the new see of Newark.

At 10-3/4 o'clock the grand pontifical procession started from the archiepiscopal palace and proceeded through Mulberry, Prince and Mott Streets into the Cathedral. . . . The bishops wore their mitres and carried their croziers. A rich crimson velvet canopy, nearly six feet square, lined with changeable green silk, was borne over the nuncio . . . by four principal trustees of the Cathedral.⁸⁴

In the line were 20 seminarians, 50 priests, four visiting bishops, three bishops-elect, the two archbishops, and their ministers.⁸⁵ Archbishop Hughes, with "lungs still tender from severe inflammation," preached from the text "Ye were as sheep, going astray," declaring:

The scene of this day may be viewed as affording a picture of the whole Catholic Church. I view it with mingled sadness and satisfaction. With you, my friends, I feel sadness at losing two Priests to whom you



Most Reverend John Loughlin, D.D.
1817-1891
First Bishop of Brooklyn

Ma

[illegible]

Dr. Domenico Savio, ^{de} Lombarduschini

To Dr. Brewster. (Lith. & other)



have been deservedly attached. One [Loughlin] has ministered among you for fourteen or fifteen years. I need not say anything of him except that, night and day, his ministry has occupied him: he has attended to your sanctification, waited on your sick beds, and instructed your children. Besides, he has been to me a kind friend; for several years he has been my Vicar-General: and I am not going to enlarge on feelings, which should be mine even more than yours, were I to speak of regret at his elevation to a superior post.⁸⁶

Bishop Loughlin was installed at St. James' in Brooklyn on Wednesday, November 9.⁸⁷ At nine o'clock that morning a procession of the laity formed opposite St. Paul's Church. The priests "robed in the beautiful school house adjoining St. James'," a custom followed ever since.⁸⁸ The Erin Fraternal Association wearing green scarfs led the way, followed by children from the orphanage and the Catholic schools and the religious societies. The procession was joined by an "immense crowd" which travelled past flag-draped windows and under triumphal arches through Court Street to Myrtle Avenue and thence to Jay Street where it was met by the St. Joseph's and St. Alphonsus' Benevolent Societies of New York.⁸⁹

Father Sylvester Malone, pastor of the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, sang the Mass in the presence of Archbishops Bedini and Hughes and Bishops McCloskey of Albany, Timon of Buffalo, de Goesbriand of Burlington, Bernard O'Reilly of Hartford, and Bayley of Newark. Archbishop Hughes introduced Bishop Loughlin to the congregation, saying:

This is a glorious day for the Catholick Church, for the Church in Brooklyn, for, we may say without any violation of the unity of the Church, that wherever there is a Bishop there is also a Church, not distinct by itself but a member of the Universal Church. Now there is a Church of Brooklyn where but yesterday there were a few scattered parishes forming a part of the Church of New York.

The increase of your numbers, of your zeal . . . gave proof of the rapid growth of your city and proclaimed that the time had come when Brooklyn needed the care and guidance of a Bishop. So it was recommended in the Council of the assembled Fathers, on a late occasion, that this city should be erected into a See and that your present Bishop should be appointed as its ruler. The Holy Father confirmed the recommendation, and you have now a Bishop who comes blessed and consecrated to watch over your spiritual welfare.

I know your Bishop long and well. He has been for years the partner of myself in the work of the New York diocese. He is honored and respected by the clergy and people of New York for his piety and zeal. . . . I predict and look forward to a great increase of piety and the erection of many Churches and schools from the presence and example among you of one in whom the whole American hierarchy have unbounded confidence.

To this address the reply of Bishop Loughlin, as written in the somewhat pedestrian phrases of a reporter of that day, was as follows:

I know that, in order that the account, which I shall have to render of the duties on which I this day enter, may be favorable, I should humble myself before God. I feel humbled when I think of the past honors that have been conferred on me by my Archbishop—considering my youth, and my unfitness for the proper discharge of the duties which those honors require. I feel that the words of confidence with which he would fill your ears in my regard, are indeed, to a certain extent, such as nothing in my past life may be well calculated to authorize. For all these manifestations of his kindness and confidence, I shall never be able sufficiently to express my gratitude; but I trust, with the blessing of God, though it must be ever in humility, yet withal in the power and the authority which I have received from God, that should he be called from this world before me—which Heaven forbid—till the end of his life, he may find realized, in the exercise of my ministry among you, the anticipations which he has been pleased so forcibly and so confidently to express.

That I may have the confidence and humility so essential to the proper discharge of the duties of my office, I most earnestly recommend myself to your prayers. I most earnestly hope for your constant co-operation.

It has been said that I am not here as a stranger to the Catholic people of Brooklyn—nor are they strangers to me; and knowing well their zeal and their generosity, which have been so beautifully eulogized, and that the eulogy was founded on the experience of one who has often had occasion to ask their aid in the projects which he proposed for the welfare of religion. It is to the same Clergy and the same people that I will look for that support which will be necessary to aid me in carrying out the projects which Almighty God may put into my mind for the advancement of our holy faith.

Pray for me, then, dearly beloved brethren, that I may be animated by the true spirit of the Episcopacy; that I may exercise at all times, with prudence and discretion, the authority and the power given to me; that although elevated in dignity, I may always live in humility

before God, mindful of the words of inspiration: "The greater thou art, the more humble thyself in all things, and thou shall find grace before God." ⁹⁰

As the services ended a heavy rain fell and the closing procession was dispensed with. In concluding its report of the ceremony, the *Freeman's Journal* noted: "The music altogether, was the best we had ever heard in a church. The demeanor of the immense multitudes . . . was . . . devout . . . decent and respectful in the highest degree." ⁹¹

THE CHALLENGE OF IMMIGRATION AND THE MULTIPLICATION OF PARISHES

THE YOUNG BISHOP selected St. James' for his cathedral church and he took up his residence opposite it in the former orphan asylum, where the parish school now stands. There he lived for the next 36 years. From this modest dwelling Bishop Loughlin surveyed the scene, and went forth "in journeyings often" to clear the field and lay the foundations. He was at the forefront of one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of human affairs—a Church that steadily expanded from an unparalleled immigration. From the beginning to the end of his administration he was under its insistent pressure and challenge. The cry for more churches, schools, and charitable institutions, for more priests and religious, was constant. How the cry was answered by the sturdy and indefatigable bishop, by the increasing numbers of priests and religious, and by the generous Faithful, themselves possessing in each decade a little more worldly goods than their predecessors, is the burden of the story to follow.

Nearly 13,000,000 immigrants, principally from northwest Europe, came to the United States during Bishop Loughlin's administration. The voyage, soon reduced to ten days by the 1870's, cost \$32 or more for steerage and \$80 for cabin accommodation. For every cabin passenger, 10 or more travelled steerage.¹ Most of the voyagers debarked at New York and passed through Castle Garden. The *Tribune* called that place a dirty, noisome dumping ground, but the inscription at the base of Bartholdi's Statue of Liberty, dedicated in 1886, concludes with kindlier sentiments:

Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

The Catholic press marvelled at the numbers that came: in 1854, "over 12,000 in one day"; on another typical day two decades later, 10,000.² The secular press became less derogatory, but political and religious bigotry against the newcomers frequently revived. Some Brooklyn ministers deplored these "countless hordes of semi-barbarous immigrants,"³ who endangered American institutions and came only to benefit themselves.⁴ The government gave little direction and less help to the immigrant. Yet many of these strangers took the place of native conscripts in the Civil War and died to preserve the Union. Industrialists welcomed them to their factories, rented them mean tenements, and amassed fortunes on their labor.

The majority of immigrants, 53 per cent of whom were said to be Catholics,⁵ came from Catholic countries, but the burden of their care fell upon American bishops. They encouraged the existing Irish and German immigrant societies,⁶ and in the 1880's and 1890's additional agencies were organized in New York City. Some of the American bishops and the Catholic press generally advocated colonization in the West and admirable plans were made.⁷ Thomas D'Arcy McGee's Buffalo convention of 1856, which advocated an Irish rural colonization society, gave some promise, but his espousal of Irish secret societies pledged to violence aroused the apprehensions of the hierarchy, particularly of Archbishop Hughes, who called it Irish Know-Nothingism, and doomed his efforts. The archbishop was opposed to a general Catholic settlement in the West where he feared the priestless prairies would be the graveyard of the immigrant's faith.⁸

Colonization schemes faced many practical difficulties but it was unfortunate, if not strange, that agrarian people, as most of the immigrants were, became city dwellers rather than Western farmers who bought an acre of land with a day's wage. In 1860 the Irish foreign element formed 12 per cent of the total population, and 23 per cent of the population of the cities.⁹ The evils of wholesale improvident immigration continued and, in 1878, were followed largely with common drudgery and an Irish death rate of

24.5 per 1,000 compared with 15.7 among the Germans.¹⁰ Bishop John J. Lynch of Toronto urged the Irish hierarchy in 1864 to try to curb emigration.¹¹

The colonization movement grew stronger two decades later under the leadership of Bishop John L. Spalding of Peoria and Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul. Both prelates advocated it in Brooklyn and criticized Hughes' policy. Fathers Sylvester Malone, John M. Kiely, and Patrick F. O'Hare also displayed some interest.¹² The *Catholic Review* supported the colonization idea in the 1880's and urged our government to restrict immigration, but it was almost too late.¹³ In 1888 an attempt was made by John D. Keiley of Brooklyn to settle Catholic immigrants in the South, but, although the plan had the encouragement of Cardinal Gibbons and the interest of Southern business men, it met with little success.¹⁴ In the same year, of some 880 Long Island farm owners, about 85 had Irish names; five, Italian; and five, Polish or Lithuanian.¹⁵

The spiritual efforts of the bishops met with greater success. Their chief problem was to keep the immigrants faithful to their religion—an easier task in the cities than in the sparsely settled West. The problem was beset by difficulties, often overlooked because of the comparative ease with which it was finally solved. Immigration brought numerous and frequently antagonistic nationalities to America. But prudent concessions were made to national cultures and customs, and the establishment of churches in which their native tongues were spoken satisfied the religious needs of the foreign-born and strengthened their loyalty to their ecclesiastical superiors. The Church was, moreover, the best possible superintendent of the great "melting pot." By her churches, schools, and charities she assimilated the immigrant to American ideals, taught respect for law, dispensed the grace of God, and made actual the phrase "e pluribus unum." In absorbing the Irish and the German she was preparing as well for the successful later absorption of those Catholic immigrants who were yet to come from southern and eastern Europe.

The Irish and Germans built up the Church in Brooklyn and Long Island as, indeed, they did throughout the entire country.¹⁶ The Irish flood-tide arrived first and it was almost entirely Cath-

olic. From 1840 to 1860, 2,000,000 came; from 1860 to 1880, 1,000,000; and from 1880 to 1900, 1,000,000 more. Irish solidarity continued strong in Brooklyn. The festivities of their societies strengthened social ties and provided funds for orphan care. St. Patrick's Day was always celebrated with enthusiasm. It began with crowded Masses and sermons and a parade, that was, often enough, reviewed by the mayor and other officials. The temperance and abstinence societies were also prominent at such affairs and they helped to secure the desired decorum.¹⁷

Nor were the home ties forgotten. The Fenian movement, begun in New York City in 1858, drew many local recruits and, later, Civil War veterans. But when it appeared as a secret society advocating violence, it fell out of favor and was condemned by the Holy See in 1870.¹⁸ The parishes of the diocese joined Catholic America in sending money for starving Ireland. Bishop Loughlin promoted collections and as early as 1863 the St. Patrick Society sent \$14,000 through him.¹⁹ The sad state of Irish affairs aroused the humanitarian impulses of some non-Catholics including civic officials who spoke for the cause at public meetings.²⁰ In 1881 Congress and the legislatures of New York and seven other states passed resolutions sympathizing with Ireland's political struggles.²¹

The spiritual care of the immigrants was a first charge upon the zeal of the bishop of Brooklyn. Upon his arrival late in 1853 Mass was being celebrated in 33 parishes and missions, 17 of them in Kings County.²² Through the following years his flock increased in numbers and became more complex in national origins. Fortunately, there was a parallel increase in the number and composition of his clergy and he was able to establish 98 parishes and missions that became parishes. As a consequence, he had become, when he laid down his crozier in 1891, one of the greatest church builders in America. To the original 29 English-speaking parishes Loughlin added 70, and the names of those parishes and of the years in which the first Masses were offered in them deserve recording.

It was Kings County, naturally, that received the greatest increment—38. In 1854 Visitation parish, near Erie Basin, was established; three years later Our Lady of Mercy, in downtown Brooklyn. This was followed the year after by St. Peter's, also in

downtown South Brooklyn. In 1860 St. Ann's, near the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and St. Vincent de Paul's, in Williamsburg, were established. In the next year St. Mark's was begun at Sheepshead Bay. Five years later St. Stephen's, in downtown South Brooklyn, was started. In 1868 St. John the Baptist's, in Bushwick, and Our Lady of Victory, in Stuyvesant Heights, were begun. In the next year Mass was celebrated in St. Cecilia's in Greenpoint. The year 1870 witnessed the opening of three more parishes: St. Augustine's on Park Slope, St. Michael's in Bay Ridge, and St. Rose of Lima's in Parkville. In the following year there were four more: Holy Family in Canarsie, the Nativity of Our Blessed Lord in Bedford, Our Lady of Lourdes in Bushwick, and Sacred Heart near the Navy Yard. In 1874 St. Teresa's, in Prospect Heights, and Transfiguration, in Williamsburg, were started. St. Agnes' in South Brooklyn, Holy Name in Windsor Terrace, and St. John's Chapel in the Hill Section were begun four years later.

The year 1880 saw two more parishes start in Kings County: St. Finbar's in Bensonhurst and Guardian Angel in Coney Island. They were followed in 1882 by St. Brigid's in Ridgewood. St. Ambrose's in Stuyvesant Heights was begun in the next year. In 1884 St. Thomas Aquinas' parish was started on Fourth Avenue in South Brooklyn. In the following year another St. Thomas Aquinas', this one in Flatlands, and St. Matthew's, in Crown Heights, were begun. St. Francis Xavier's, on Park Slope, and Our Lady of Good Counsel, in Stuyvesant Heights, celebrated the sacred rites for the first time in 1886. In 1887 Our Lady of the Presentation was begun in East New York. Two years later the parishes of Holy Rosary, in Stuyvesant Heights, and Mary the Mother of Jesus, in Bensonhurst, were organized. Finally, in 1891 the following parishes were begun: Blessed Sacrament in East New York, Our Lady of Angels in Bay Ridge, St. Edward's in Fort Greene Park section, and St. Frances de Chantal's in Borough Park.

During the same period eight new parishes were started by Bishop Loughlin in present Queens County. The first was that of St. Raphael, near Calvary Cemetery, in the year 1865. In the next year St. Luke's was begun in Whitestone. St. Mary's and St. Patrick's, both in Long Island City, were established in 1868. The

year 1869 saw Our Lady of Sorrows parish established in Corona. In the next year St. Stanislaus Kostka's started in Maspeth. Sacred Heart in Bayside began in 1878, and, six years later, St. Rose of Lima's was organized in Rockaway Beach.

Present Nassau County witnessed the beginnings of seven parishes also during this period. The first was St. Mary's at Roslyn in 1863. Five years later St. Dominic's at Oyster Bay was organized. In the year 1871 two more parishes came to Nassau: Our Lady of Loretto in Hempstead and St. Joseph's in Hewlett. In 1876 St. Aloysius' parish began at Great Neck. St. Mary of the Isle was begun in 1883 at Long Beach; and the last Nassau parish, that of St. Agnes in Rockville Center, was established in 1887.

Meanwhile in Suffolk, 17 English-speaking parishes were begun, in nearly all instances as summer missions and often associating an Indian or a Puritan place name with that of a saint from the Roman martyrology. St. Francis de Sales' and Sacred Heart parishes were begun in 1854 at, respectively, Patchogue and Cutchogue. Two years later St. Lawrence's opened at Sayville and in 1858 St. Patrick's opened at Bayshore. In the next year St. Philomena's was begun at East Hampton, and three more summer missions started in 1860, to become parishes in the years ahead. They were Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary at Southampton, Mary Immaculate at Bellport, and Queen of the Most Holy Rosary at Bridgehampton. St. Philip Neri's was organized at Northport in 1868, and the year after that Immaculate Conception at Westhampton Beach. The year 1870 saw two more missions: St. Mary's at East Islip and Infant Jesus at Port Jefferson. Shelter Island received the mission of Our Lady of the Isle in 1872. St. Martin's, Amityville, began in 1877. St. Joseph's at Ronkonkoma dates back to the year 1884. Two years later, Kings Park was the scene of another mission of St. Joseph, while in 1887 the last mission, that of St. John the Evangelist, was opened at Center Moriches.

German immigration, slower to start than the Irish, surpassed it in volume in the end. From 1841 to 1850 the Irish formed 45.57 per cent of all immigrants, whereas the Germans formed 25.37 per cent. From 1871 to 1880 the respective percentages were 15.10 and 25.74. The German immigrant contribution to the United States was: 1841 to 1860, 1,386,293; 1861 to 1880, 1,505,750; 1881

to 1900, 1,958,122.²³ Farmers, artisans, impoverished noblemen, discontented intellectuals, political revolutionaries, and religious dissenters were among their numbers. The Know-Nothings associated Germans and Irish as a common foe, which helped prolong the hyphen and the little "Germanys." Probably one-third of the Germans were Catholic and they reacted vigorously against both Know-Nothings and German revolutionaries by the formation in 1855 at Baltimore of the Catholic Central Verein of North America, which was a federation of German Catholic societies.²⁴ The German Catholics were little noticed in the Irish Catholic journals, but they had their own press, schools, and churches and, if not so numerous as the Irish, they were a large, faithful, and in no respect inferior part of the population.²⁵

For decades the German language was used in church and school, for the German clergy believed that "language kept the faith." Father Francis X. Weninger, S.J., reported in 1857:

Where the Germans had their German schools and spoke only German, they are as faithful to their Religion as their parents were a hundred years ago. . . . Where English has supplanted German entirely, the condition of Religion is unreliable and precarious. This teaches the important lesson not to hurry matters but to cultivate the German language . . . until conditions change.²⁶

This practical solution became involved, toward the end of the century, in the German and the school controversies within the American Church.²⁷

The Germans spread from the Williamsburg colony through Kings and into Queens County. They were generally Republicans but not prohibitionists.²⁸ It was said in 1878 that there were some 1,300 Communists in Brooklyn, mostly German, a few dozen Irish, and no Catholics among them.²⁹ Fathers Raffener and May encouraged the Central Verein which held conventions in Brooklyn, and other German-speaking priests from Brooklyn helped organize the New York Leo House.³⁰

Bishop Loughlin found three German-speaking parishes in the diocese when he came in 1853. He established 19 others—eleven in Kings, six in Queens, and one each in present Nassau and in Suffolk.

In January, 1854, the young bishop dedicated, not far from old

St. James', the Church of St. Boniface which a German group had purchased a few days after his installation as ordinary. St. Michael's was established at East New York in 1860. The Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was begun in Williamsburg in 1863 and St. Nicholas' parish, in 1866. In the same section, in the next year, All Saints' was started. In 1871 two more German parishes were organized: that of St. Leonard of Port Maurice in Bushwick and St. Bernard's in South Brooklyn. St. Alphonsus' was established in Bushwick in 1873. The parish of the Holy Family was begun in South Brooklyn in 1876. The year 1887 witnessed the start of Fourteen Holy Martyrs', in Bushwick, while the 11th and last German parish, that of Our Lady of Sorrows, also in Bushwick, was begun in 1889.

Beside the parishes in Kings County the first bishop of Brooklyn established other German-speaking parishes in present Queens. Winfield in 1854 saw the beginning of the parish of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Help of Christians; two years later, St. Fidelis' began at College Point; and in 1860 St. Margaret's was organized at Middle Village. In 1873 St. Elizabeth's, at Woodhaven, was established. St. Joseph's, in Long Island City, was started in 1877. Finally, in 1886 the parish of the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary was begun in Jamaica.

For the German-speaking Faithful a parish was established also in present Nassau in 1855 and one in Suffolk County in 1870. They were, respectively, St. Ignatius Loyola's at Hicksville and Our Lady of Perpetual Help at Lindenhurst.

Although an Italian had first discovered the metropolitan area, his countrymen were relatively slow in settling here. From 1851 to 1880, 76,718 came. The trend toward heavy immigration accelerated between 1881 and 1890, when 307,309 arrived. It was encouraged by the Italian government, steamship agents, and the economic hardships of life in their country. In 1880 there were 12,200 Italians in New York City; by 1890 there were 182,580. The first arrivals came largely from northern Italy; after 1875 southern Italy contributed the great majority.³¹ Most of them were very poor and also illiterate, circumstances which led to their exploitation by unscrupulous *padrones*. Typical, perhaps, was the report that one *padrone* bound his men to work for \$5.00 monthly;

another exacted 20 cents daily tribute for three years.³² After they had saved a few dollars a large number of the newcomers returned home.

The average American, making a facile generalization, considered Italians as a lawless lot and offered them a chill background for the festivals of their patron saints. American Catholics were antagonized by the rather casual religious attitude of some of them and by their celebration of September 20 (the seizure of Rome) as a day of national glory. There was a tendency on the part of some Irish-American Catholics to regard the Italians as Garibaldian Orangemen, but the Catholic press befriended them. The *Catholic Review* asked for Italian leaders and urged Irish-Americans to help.³³

The colonies of Italians were almost wholly Catholic but were often dominated by anti-clericals and their press and mutual aid societies were religiously estranged. In 1891 there were 14 political and social Italian organizations listed in Brooklyn.³⁴ The religious condition of many of the Italians was deplorable. They were accustomed to government schools, a State-supported Church, and convenience in hearing Mass, and they had received little religious instruction. Once here, they frequently ignored the laws of the Church, yet looked to her for help.³⁵ In general, the Italian clergy had not followed them to America; for in 1899, when Italy had one priest for every 370 people, New York City had only 20 priests and five churches for 250,000.³⁶

In Brooklyn Fathers Charles Constantine Pise and Joseph Fransioli, both of Italian blood, did outstanding work.³⁷ The latter, pastor of St. Peter's Church in downtown Brooklyn, held services in his parish for the first Italians some time probably in the 1860's, but until 1882 there were no Italian priests permanently in Brooklyn. In April of that year Fransioli rented the Pilgrim Chapel at 112 Warren Street for a congregation of 400 and began a small school with Father Thomas De Fina in charge.³⁸ He did not remain long and was followed by Father John B. Volpe, and he, in turn, by Father Anthony Paccassoni, who, in 1884, also resigned.³⁹ At this time Fransioli was in Rome and he induced the Pious Society of Missions, which was founded in that city in 1835, by Blessed Vincent Maria Pallotti, to send a

priest. Father Pasquale de Nisco, P.S.M., came in September, 1884.⁴⁰ The following year a proselytizing Protestant church at 30 President Street in South Brooklyn was bought and the building was dedicated to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary by Bishop Loughlin on June 14, 1885. There were at the time over 5,000 Italians in the parish.⁴¹

Meanwhile a ritualistic minister was beguiling other Italians who had come to the Eastern District. First efforts to secure a church failed, but late in 1886 Father Pietro Saponara used Holy Trinity Church for services and later the churches of the Annunciation, at North Fifth and Havemeyer Streets, and St. Vincent de Paul, North Sixth Street.⁴² He finally got funds to buy property at North Eighth Street and Union Avenue. Here Bishop Loughlin laid the cornerstone of a frame church in July, 1887, and he dedicated it in November under the patronage of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel.⁴³ The parish of St. Michael the Archangel near the Navy Yard was the third Italian congregation to be formed.⁴⁴ Father de Nisco began services for them during March, 1891, in the hall of Assumption Church. Shortly thereafter the old Polish church at Lawrence and Tillary Streets was bought and the first Mass was said in it on December 20, 1891.⁴⁵

From 1851 to 1890 over 500,000 Poles, with a background of religious and political repression and persecution akin to Ireland's, came to the United States. Prussian Poland furnished the majority of these immigrants until 1890, when Poles from Russia began surpassing them in number. By 1870 they had become noticeable in Brooklyn and Greenpoint. Most of them had been farmers but in America they became industrial workers. They were served by Polish priests from New York, some of whom gave trouble.⁴⁶ Then Father Joseph Niedzielski from Cincinnati organized their first Brooklyn congregation of about 100 Polish and Lithuanian families and he secured the former Protestant church near the Navy Yard at Tillary and Lawrence Streets for \$7,000.⁴⁷ Bishop Loughlin dedicated it on December 5, 1875, as St. Casimir's.⁴⁸ In the next year Niedzielski founded the Polish Roman Catholic Society of St. Albert Martyr. It fostered the spiritual aspirations and temporal advantages of its members and offered sickness and death benefits similar to the older Irish beneficial societies.⁴⁹

Membership was limited to Catholic Poles 18 to 45 years old who had no secret society affiliations.

Father Niedzielski died early in 1882⁵⁰ and was succeeded in turn by Fathers Aurelius Blauvaczhynski, Stanislaus Marcinkowski, a Eudist, Hippolitus Baranski, and Vincent Bronikowski. Father Bronikowski remained until 1892. In 1888 the organist was teaching 50 children in the parish school.⁵¹ There were then 500 Polish families in the parish, and in May, 1890, Bishop Loughlin, transferring the old church to the Italians, bought a synagogue at Greene Avenue near Carlton as a church for the Poles.⁵² He dedicated it in November as the new St. Casimir's.⁵³ In December of the next year the bishop sent Father Joseph Fyda to organize the parish of St. Adalbert, Elmhurst, in Queens County. He began it with about 50 Poles in St. Mary's Church, Winfield.⁵⁴

Small groups of Lithuanians had come to the South Brooklyn and Williamsburg waterfronts in the late 1860's, seeking escape from famine and from Russian political and religious oppression. They found employment in the sugar refineries, nickel and copper works, and dressmaking trades. In Europe the Lithuanians had been closely associated with the Poles for 500 years prior to 1883, when a revival of Lithuanian nationalism tried to check both the Polonization and the Russification of the Lithuanian peoples. Nevertheless, with the Poles, whom they then outnumbered, they established St. Casimir's parish in 1875 at Lawrence and Tillary Streets.⁵⁵ Upon Niedzielski's death in 1882 Father Dutkevicius, the first Lithuanian priest, came to Brooklyn. For the next few years the congregation attended German-speaking churches.

Father Anthony Varnagiris ministered to the Lithuanians in 1884 but, finding them too few to start a parish, he left for Pennsylvania. Father Scupas, who founded two radical papers in New York in 1885,⁵⁶ tried to establish a schismatic church for the Lithuanians of the metropolitan area. His plan failed, and he began practising medicine and made anti-Catholic speeches in Brooklyn. Meanwhile Father Koncius, the first Lithuanian priest ordained in this country, ministered occasionally to the Brooklyn Faithful. To him doubtless may be traced the St. Joseph Benefit Society, organized in 1886.

In 1888 Bishop Loughlin appointed Father Matthias Juodisius

to establish St. George's parish at North 10th Street and Bedford Avenue in Williamsburg. The bishop laid the cornerstone of the brick church on November 29, 1888.⁵⁷ Juodisius was a scholar who had been invited to teach at the recently formed Catholic University of America. Unfortunately, he was unstable, the trustees were turbulent and, as a result, the parish could not be maintained.⁵⁸

As the years passed and the foreign-language immigrants and their children became Americanized, many of these Faithful were absorbed into the English-speaking parishes. Still later, some of the foreign-language parishes would themselves become English-speaking. Such a transformation occurred rather soon after the formation of two of the three remaining foreign-language parishes that were then begun and to which reference may now be made.

The French parish of St. Louis was established in 1869 on Siegel Street near Manhattan Avenue in Williamsburg when Father Jules Jollon was appointed pastor.⁵⁹ Bishop Loughlin dedicated the church and its school that July.⁶⁰ A more desirable site, one-third of a mile west, at Marcy Avenue and Hooper Street, was purchased on May 21, 1873, but the people objected to the transfer and the new property became the site of Transfiguration Church.⁶¹ In May, 1889, Loughlin laid the cornerstone of the second St. Louis Church, likewise in Williamsburg, a half-mile southwest of the former, on Ellery Street near Nostrand Avenue, and he dedicated the frame building in November.⁶² In 1868 there were only 20 or 25 French families and the parish of St. Louis was soon English-speaking.⁶³

In October, 1890, the Reverend Claude H. Dumahut, a French missionary who had labored 25 years in Norway, was authorized to establish a church for Scandinavians. On February 15, 1891, he offered the first Mass in his residence, 299 15th Street, South Brooklyn. There were over 300 Scandinavian families in the neighborhood,⁶⁴ but there were few Catholics among them and the parish quickly became English-speaking. The cornerstone of the present Church of St. Stanislaus Martyr, 14th Street east of Sixth Avenue, was laid on December 27, 1891, by Vicar General Michael May, as Bishop Loughlin had then entered upon his last illness.⁶⁵

A small group of Catholic Bohemians living at Bohemia, a

Hussite colony in Suffolk, had been occasionally attended by Father Peter Kearney, who was in charge of the mid-Suffolk missions from 1872 to 1879. In 1884 Father James E. Bobier, then pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Bay Shore, began caring for about 25 families.⁶⁶ In the next year he built a small frame church for the congregation and offered Mass there on Christmas Day, 1885.⁶⁷ A cemetery was acquired at the same time.⁶⁸

A few priests, members of religious congregations, had labored in the Brooklyn area in pre-diocesan days. Among them were Franciscans, Benedictines, Augustinians, and, less prominently, Vincentians and Jesuits. All, save one or two, soon became affiliated with the diocese or departed. None, except the Augustinians, had established a house of their own in the diocese.

In the course of Bishop Loughlin's administration he invited three religious communities of priests into the diocese: the Vincentian Fathers, the Fathers of Mercy, and the Pallottini Fathers. They founded parishes with houses of their own and are still affiliated with the diocese. The last to come, the Pallottini Fathers, in the person of Father Pasquale de Nisco in 1884, have been referred to in discussing the Italian parish of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary.

The Priests of the Congregation of the Mission, called Vincentian Fathers after St. Vincent de Paul, who founded the community in France in 1625, came first to the United States in 1816 and settled near St. Louis, Missouri. Bishop Loughlin had warm and distinguished friends among its members and in 1865 he invited them to found a college in Brooklyn.⁶⁹ To help support the venture he assigned them a new parish near the junction of Broadway and Myrtle Avenue, in Stuyvesant Heights. On November 14, 1867, the Fathers bought 60 lots now bounded by Hart Street, Willoughby, Stuyvesant, and Lewis Avenues.⁷⁰ Fathers Edward M. Smith, C.M., John S. Quigley, C.M., and William McGinness, C.M., were the first priests to arrive.⁷¹

The small cottage on the grounds first served for the community house and chapel of St. Mary of the Isles. Here, on July 12, 1868, Father Smith offered the first Mass in the presence of a dozen persons.⁷² Three weeks later, on August 2, Bishop Loughlin laid the cornerstone of a large frame church. He dedicated it on

August 29, 1869.⁷³ The parish prospered so that Bishop Loughlin laid the cornerstone of the present Church of St. John the Baptist on June 24, 1888.⁷⁴

The Vincentians promptly began their educational activities. In September, 1870, they opened the High School and College of St. John the Baptist. A parish school was begun in 1873 at St. Joseph's Female Orphanage, Willoughby and Sumner Avenues, which was conducted by the Sisters of Charity. In 1885 a frame house was secured opposite the college on Lewis Avenue for a boys' school.⁷⁵ On September 21, 1891, the Fathers took over classes in the Seminary of St. John the Baptist.

The Society of the Fathers of Mercy, founded in France in 1811 by the Venerable Jean Baptiste Rauzan and Bishop Charles de Forbin-Janson of Nancy and Toul, established a French parish in Canal Street, New York, in 1841. Thirty years later, upon the invitation of Bishop Loughlin, they came to Brooklyn and in September, 1871, they bought a farmhouse and 24 lots for a monastery and novitiate.⁷⁶ The property was near the junction of old Bushwick Road and Kings Highway and about a mile east of the new Vincentian parish.⁷⁷ Father Hippolytus C. Leneuf, S.P.M., pastor from 1871 to 1875, offered the first Mass in the parlor chapel for about 30 Catholic families.⁷⁸ Bishop Loughlin dedicated the chapel on September 8, 1872. In that year a school for 100 pupils was opened.⁷⁹ The bishop laid the cornerstone of the first brick church at Broadway and Hull Street on June 6, 1875, and placed it under the patronage of St. Francis de Sales on November 11.⁸⁰ The parish grew, especially under the pastorate of Father Eugene H. Porcile, S.P.M. (1878-1885; 1890-1909). About 1897 it was renamed Our Lady of Lourdes. It was known as the "French church" for many years, although, except for some of the priests, no French people lived there and the sermons were in English.⁸¹

The Fathers of Mercy also began the new mission of the Holy Family at Canarsie, two miles south. The first Mass was celebrated about 1871, at a private house at 92nd Street and School Lane, for seven or eight Catholic families.⁸² In March, 1880, property was bought at Conklin Avenue and East 93rd Street. On it was an old schoolhouse and this became the first church.⁸³ About 1887 the Fathers of Mercy relinquished the mission and it was attended

from St. Rose of Lima's and then from St. Thomas Aquinas', Flatlands. There were 66 Catholic families in the parish that September.⁸⁴

Bishop Loughlin also authorized the Fathers of Mercy to establish the new parish of St. Frances de Chantal at 57th Street and 13th Avenue in Blythebourne or Borough Park, four miles southwest of their first church. The first meeting was held December 27, 1891, at a private residence, and the first Mass was celebrated on January 1, 1892, in a house on 56th Street.⁸⁵

The foregoing consideration of the parishes of various types established by Bishop Loughlin may be summarized in tabular form, with a similar table of the parishes and missions that existed in 1853, thus giving a comprehensive view of the growth of Catholicism in the four counties:

FOUNDATIONS OF PRESENTLY EXISTING PARISHES

<i>Year</i>	<i>Parishes</i>	<i>Kings</i>	<i>Queens</i>	<i>Nassau</i>	<i>Suffolk</i>	<i>Total</i>
1821	{ English to 1853	14	4	4	7	29
	{ German	3	—	1	—	4
	Total	17	4	5	7	33
	{ English German French to 1854 Polish 1891 Italian Lithuanian Bohemian Scandinavian	38	8	7	17	70
		11	6	1	1	19
		1				1
		1	1			2
		3				3
		1				1
					1	1
	Total	56	15	8	19	98
	GRAND TOTAL	73	19	13	26	131

In the diocese at the end of 1891 there were in operation the following 131 presently existing parishes: 99 English-speaking, 23 German, 3 Italian, 2 Polish, and 1 each French, Lithuanian, Bohemian, and Scandinavian.

From the above tables and from the survey that preceded them some significant conclusions may be drawn.

In the 38 years of Bishop Loughlin's administration three times as many parishes and missions were established as had been erected in the preceding 33 years.

All told, the bishop opened 98 new parishes or missions that became parishes—an average of 2.64 each year. There were few years in which he did not found at least one parish: 1862, 1864, 1879, 1881, and 1890. Eight, the greatest number for any year, were begun in 1871: six English-speaking and two German. The years in which the next greatest number, seven, were opened were 1860, 1870, and, remarkably, 1891, the year of his death.

The increasing immigration and the change in the nationalities composing it were reflected both in an increased number of parish foundations and in the changed relative proportion of the languages spoken. In 1853 the English-speaking parishes and missions numbered 29 or 88 per cent of the whole; the German-speaking numbered four or 12 per cent. At the end of 1891, although the total number of English-speaking parishes had increased to 99, they then numbered only 75.5 per cent of the whole; the German parishes had increased to 23 or 17.5 per cent. Six other Catholic tongues had come to be spoken in the diocese and in the remaining 7 per cent of the parishes. Of these nine parishes, the Italians had three and the Poles two.

A study of the ecclesiastical growth in Suffolk County reveals the solicitude that Bishop Loughlin had for the remote Long Island settlements and their annually enlarged Catholic summer populations. When he arrived in 1853 he found seven missions in Suffolk. To them he added 19 more, which in time likewise became parishes. Further evidence lies in the additional number of missions founded by him which have either remained missions or have since ceased to function and are now "ghost" missions. Those still functioning are: Our Lady of Good Counsel, Mattituck, 1859, and St. Mary's, East Moriches, 1869, both in Suffolk; and in Queens, the Willet Point chapel, Fort Totten, 1871, which was succeeded in 1878, by Sacred Heart parish, Bayside. Among the subsequently defunct Suffolk missions were those established at: Jamesport, 1855; Yaphank, 1861; The Hermitage, 1863; and Orient Point, 1872. Setauket, established as a mission in 1887, became a parish in 1949.

THE EXPANSION OF CATHOLIC EDUCATION

EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS CONTINUED, well past the mid-century, to be characterized by the use of Protestant versions of the Scriptures, hymns, and prayers and in some places by the employment of anti-Catholic textbooks and teachers. A growing secularism further corroded public education. The boards of education, trained largely under such influences, wanted one unified system of education, organized and controlled by the state and inculcating common secular ideals. The Catholic Church was almost alone in combating the dangerous features of such a policy. An editorial in the *Freeman's Journal* for January 23, 1858, declaring that "the child does not belong to the State" anticipated the famous phrase in the Supreme Court decision in 1925 in the Oregon school case, that "the child is not the creature of the State." The public school could not meet the requirements of the Catholic conscience which held that education must be thoroughly religious; that weekly religious instruction is insufficient and can be misleading; that the state in compelling support for only one kind of school, a secular school, violated religious rights and duties; that parents had the right to determine the character of schools paid for by their taxes and the right to maintain schools of their own; that state-supported Catholic schools staffed by Catholics and teaching religion outside of school hours would be an acceptable solution.

Canada and some European states, largely non-Catholic, settled the question reasonably for all concerned, but the United States

remained callous to the demands of justice and the rights of conscience. Unwarranted fear, and in many instances, hatred of the Church brought the wrong solution—a double taxation to Catholics and a spiritual loss to Protestants.

The position of Catholics on the necessity of religious education, their attempts to secure state funds, and the development of their own system of education constituted, to some, a reproach to the public school and were met, in turn, with misrepresentation and injustice. Protestants were told by the *Brooklyn Star* that the Catholic Bible would contaminate the common schools; ¹ that the Catholic Church forbade its people to read the Bible. The bogey that Catholics were attempting to dominate public schools would not down; and divisive propaganda persisted to the effect that private and especially religious schools hindered national unity. A few years later a constitutional amendment requiring attendance at public schools and denying financial aid to any religious institution conducted for charitable purposes was defeated by a narrow margin. Among those favoring the amendment was President Ulysses S. Grant.

In 1875 a bill to secure a measure of justice was introduced in the New York State Senate. Of it Bishop Bernard J. McQuaid of Rochester remarked, "It is not to deprive Protestants of their Bible in their schools; it is to educate Catholic children in Catholic schools with our own money, under state supervision if you please." Later he remarked, "We claim that our rights rest where our money goes." ² But the bill met with violent opposition. In Brooklyn the editor of the *Christian Register* told a Unitarian conference, "We will defend our public schools with our ballots first and our bayonets after," adding that Catholics knew that if their children mixed with Protestants at public schools they would not submit to priestly rule. ³ A Suffolk County paper wrote, "The placing of our public schools in the hands of priests of the Roman Church cannot be tolerated." ⁴

Not only were public funds refused Catholic schools but the schools themselves were anathema to some. When Public School 5 closed because the opening of St. Ann's school drew away 354 Catholic pupils, a Brooklyn daily declared that genuine American sentiment was alienated. ⁵ When St. Monica's parish school started,

the *Christian Intelligencer* wrote, "Some silly Protestants at Jamaica, L.I., have sent their children to the new Papal school opened in that village. These children may go in like doves, but they will come out like *Vultures*." ⁶ The *New York Times* criticized Father Robert J. Maguire of St. Paul's for improving his school facilities ⁷ but the *Hartford Protestant Churchman*, protesting, called the *Times*' charge of encroachment on public rights groundless, for "every Roman Catholic priest is perfectly free to establish a parish school." ⁸

Other voices also arose occasionally in praise of Catholic principles. The *New York Sun* greatly admired Catholic educational zeal.⁹ Some ministers asked for justice for Catholic schools and defended religious education.¹⁰ Conventions of Episcopalian ministers on Long Island resolved that secular instruction in state schools caused crime; they "greatly derided" the usefulness of Sunday schools and voted that public schools did not offer a proper education.¹¹

The use in public schools of both Protestant and agnostic textbooks occasioned frequent disputes, through the years, a few instances of which will illustrate the point. In 1869 the recently established Brooklyn *Catholic* declared that, although 13 principals had approved the Edwards readers, the Board of Education found the books "objectionable to Christians" and the publishers admitted they needed expurgation.¹² The Long Island City Board of Education expelled Catholic pupils in 1872 for refusal to "read and study the King James version." However, Father John Crimin, pastor of St. Mary's Church, secured a decision from Abraham Weaver, Superintendent of Public Instruction, sustaining the children's rights.¹³ But the practice continued in public schools generally for many decades. Father James Donohoe of St. Thomas Aquinas Church objected in 1888 unavailingly to the Board of Education on the use at Central Grammar School of a history text containing falsehoods about indulgences and the Reformation.¹⁴ Father James E. Bobier at Bay Shore protested in 1891 to State Superintendent of Education Draper about Protestant Bible reading and commentary in the local school. Draper ordered the practice stopped.¹⁵

Because of many similar instances Bishop Loughlin was deeply

concerned about the establishment of Catholic schools. Appealing for funds in 1859 to the Ludwig Missionsverein of Bavaria he wrote, "Almost every church has a schoolhouse, which is very necessary to keep children from the public schools where they are weaned away from their religion."¹⁶ He carefully followed the papal teachings on Christian education, notably the instructions of 1864 and 1875 and later, forbidding Catholic children to attend public schools where there was proximate danger of perversion.¹⁷ Loughlin promulgated unceasingly, also, the legislation of the Baltimore councils, especially the Third Plenary Council of 1884 which devoted nearly one-quarter of its decrees to Catholic schools and ordered pastors to build schools within two years, wherever possible. In fact, the bishop anticipated the Third Council, for in September, 1882, he had read from the pulpits of the diocese an instruction forbidding confessors to absolve parents who culpably refused to send their children to Catholic schools, and at the priests' retreat in 1884 he urged pastors to build schools where none existed.¹⁸

For the times and with his means he made a remarkable school record. Almost as fast as parishes were established, elementary schools followed. Some of them, in turn, were supplemented by secondary academies, and before Bishop Loughlin died in 1891 two colleges and a seminary were also in operation in the diocese of Brooklyn. The educational growth of the period was made possible largely by the expansion of the religious communities that were existent when he arrived and by the others whom he invited. A brief review of the educational activities of the several communities in parish and community schools deserves a place in this historical record of those days.

THE SISTERS OF CHARITY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL

After their departure from St. James' the Sisters of Charity made St. Paul's their Brooklyn headquarters. From this address they pursued their educational and charitable program under the remarkable guidance from 1847 to 1885 of Sister Mary Constantia Hull, and, following her, of Sister Maria Louise. That the community, the first to arrive in Brooklyn, did not expand as rapidly

as some others may be attributed, partly at least, to numerous calls for help that came from outside the diocese, for the community remained affiliated with New York.¹⁹

In 1854 the sisters taught three departments comprising 350 girls in St. Paul's basement school.²⁰ Thereafter the community began to teach the girls in the following parish schools: St. Mary, Star of the Sea in 1855; St. Peter's in 1864; Assumption in 1868; and St. Charles Borromeo's in 1869. In 1873 they opened St. John the Baptist school which was located in St. Joseph's Female Orphanage until 1885. They began at St. Stephen's in 1874 and at St. Monica's in Jamaica four years later. At the same time the sisters instructed young women in their industrial school and those girl orphans who had been entrusted to their care.

The community also maintained their private academy begun at St. Paul's in 1847²¹ and located after 1866 in the Grecian Mansion at 89 West Warren Street, in the rear of the orphanage.²² It was advertised as St. Philomena's Academy for Young Ladies and its comprehensive course of studies included orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, algebra, grammar, composition, geography, history, natural philosophy, astronomy, botany, delineation of maps, use of globes, chemistry, bookkeeping, and plain and ornamental needlework. The first class was charged \$10.00 the quarter, the fourth class paid \$7.00 for the same period. French, music, drawing, and fuel were extra charges and the discipline was mild but firm.²³ Four sisters taught 80 pupils there in 1870. Soon after this the academy was closed.²⁴

It was succeeded by a second St. Philomena's Academy opened in September, 1869, by Father Francis J. Freel on Sydney Place in the old St. Charles Borromeo Church, renovated after the fire of 1868. It was "cheerfully situated in a very healthy locality." There, two Sisters of Charity and two lay women taught 150 girls while "first class teachers" taught a like number of boys. First called St. Philomena's High School, a then rare appellation, its name was changed to Academy in the next year.²⁵ This academy was distinct from the parish school of St. Charles where the sisters and Franciscan Brothers were then teaching 600 boys and girls. By 1880 boys no longer attended the academy but four sisters taught 300 girls there. Fire damaged the building in 1880 and 1882, and shortly

thereafter this second St. Philomena's Academy followed the first into oblivion.²⁶

THE SISTERS OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. DOMINIC

The first diocesan religious community in Brooklyn, the German-born Sisters of St. Dominic in Holy Trinity parish, received a girl from the parish as their first novice in 1857.²⁷ The congregation, dedicated to education and works of charity, flourished remarkably both within and without the diocese of Brooklyn.²⁸ The bustling missionary life at Williamsburg contrasted strangely with the quiet old cloisters of Ratisbon, but until 1896 the sisters, as members of the Second Order of St. Dominic, kept a quasi-cloister.²⁹ The superiors up to that date were Mother M. Josepha Witzlhofer (1853-1864), Mother M. Seraphina Staimer (-1889), and Mother M. Aemilia Barth (-1895).

In addition to teaching the girls at Holy Trinity, the sisters conducted a "select" female school, which in 1860 had 40 pupils.³⁰ It closed soon after and except for the novitiate, which was transferred from the Williamsburg motherhouse in 1876, the sisters confined their teaching to elementary schools. At some of the parish convents, however, advanced instruction was given in artistic needlework, wax flower making, painting, and music.³¹

The sisters added the following parish schools to their teaching duties during Bishop Loughlin's regime: All Saints' in 1868 and, in the next year, Our Lady Help of Christians, Winfield; St. Margaret's, Middle Village, in 1870 and St. Boniface's in 1871; St. Michael's, East New York, in 1872; Annunciation in 1873; St. Alphonsus' from 1875-1880; St. Leonard's in 1875; St. Patrick's, Fort Hamilton, two years later; St. Joseph's, Long Island City, in 1880 and, the year after that, Holy Family, 13th Street; St. Fidelis', College Point, in 1883; both St. Bernard's in Brooklyn and St. Elizabeth's, Ozone Park, in 1885; St. Boniface's, Elmont, the year after; Presentation of Blessed Virgin Mary, Jamaica, in 1887 and Sorrowful Mother in 1890. An attempt to establish a school at St. Benedict's in 1876 was unsuccessful, because of the opposition of a faction of the parishioners.³²

THE SISTERS OF MERCY

The Sisters of Mercy at St. Catherine's Convent in New York had come under the direction of the Very Reverend John Loughlin when they arrived from Dublin in 1846, 15 years after the congregation was founded by Catherine McAuley. It was natural that he should invite them to Brooklyn, and the first members of this diocesan community arrived on September 12, 1855. They were Sisters M. Bernard Clarke, M. Joseph Shine, M. de Sales Walsh, M. Zita Mullen, Julia McKenna, postulant, and Mother M. Vincent Haire, who was the first Sister of Mercy professed in New York. The sisters took up their "fine residence" in "a small brick house, corner of Jay and Chapel Streets nearly opposite the bishop's residence" and called it the Convent of St. Francis of Assisium. They began teaching the girls of the parish in the "school of Our Lady of Mercy attached to the Cathedral,"³³ and a year later there were seven choir and two lay sisters enagaged with 410 pupils. Death visited the little community frequently and it grew slowly. Julia McKenna, Sister Mary Francis, was the first to receive the white veil in Brooklyn. Bishop Loughlin presided on that January day in 1856.³⁴ In November, 1862, the sisters changed their residence at St. James' for the new mother-house which Bishop Loughlin commissioned Keely to build for \$60,000 at 273 Willoughby Avenue, in St. Patrick's parish.³⁵

The Sisters of Mercy continued teaching at St. James' school, which in 1866 numbered 300 small boys and 340 girls.³⁶ In 1869 they relinquished the school and began another in their mother-house for the girls at St. Patrick's. In 1891 that parish erected a school building for its girls. Meanwhile, in 1888, the sisters took charge of the girls in nearby Sacred Heart parish school.³⁷

Soon after moving to Willoughby Avenue the community began caring for orphans and they opened an industrial school for girls. They also taught Sunday school and visited hospitals and jails.³⁸ A "select" school was also opened by them, with 100 girls. The subjects taught were orthography, reading, writing, grammar, composition, rhetoric, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, Bible and profane history, geography, use of globes, astronomy, elements of natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, and zoology. Tuition

charges ran from \$4.00 to \$10.00 quarterly, while French, embroidery, tapestry, wax flower making, and fuel were extra charges.³⁹ The superiors during the period were Mother M. Vincent Haire (-1883), Mother M. Bonaventure Dillon (-1889), and Mother M. Stephen Salter (-1892).

THE VISITATION NUNS

St. Jane Frances de Chantal began the first congregation of the Sisters of the Visitation of Mary, a cloistered community, at Annecy in Savoy in 1610. American houses were founded at Georgetown in 1799 and at Baltimore in 1837. The Brooklyn foundation was begun when Mother Julianna Matthews, first superior in Baltimore, Sisters M. Clotilda Smith, M. Perpetua Jenkins, M. Xavier Queen, M. Francis Bunting, M. Aimée Hand, and two externs, Sisters M. Martha McEneany and M. Catherine Conlon, arrived in the diocese on September 18, 1855.⁴⁰

In October this diocesan community secured a building at 141½ Lawrence Street near Myrtle Avenue. There they conducted an academy for a year and then, with funds collected by Father Eugene Cassidy of St. James', they bought a large frame mansion at 64 Johnson Street, corner of Pearl, from the Reverend Evan M. Johnson. The sisters moved into the house in May, 1856, and later enlarged it and put a wall about the property.⁴¹

This Academy of the Visitation, a boarding and day school, quickly became so popular that, for lack of room, boarders could no longer be accepted. By 1870 there were 135 pupils, more than a third of whom were Protestants, in the preparatory and first, second, and senior academic classes.⁴² Quarterly charges varied from \$10.00 to \$20.00 for "all branches of a thorough English education." The customary extra charges were made for music, drawing, painting, wax flower making, fuel, books, and stationery.⁴³ The Sodality of the Children of Mary was begun in 1856 and the Guard of Honor of the Sacred Heart was canonically established at the monastery as an Archconfraternity for the United States in March, 1883. These religious exercises, First Friday devotions, and alumnae meetings attracted many.

The community⁴⁴ and school grew, and in 1880 they left John-

son Street for the Lorwitz Villa and the adjoining Halsey Mansion at 209 Clinton Avenue, corner of Willoughby.⁴⁵ Subsequent superiors were Mother M. Clotilda Smith (1861-1867), Mother M. Liguori Wernig (-1873), Mother M. Philomene Darphin (-1879), Mother M. de Sales Callanen (-1885), and Mother M. Philomene Darphin (-1891).

On December 5, 1864, the community made another foundation, leasing Bath Villa at Bath, Long Island, for a boarding academy.⁴⁶ This location proved unsuitable and the sisters purchased property on August 10, 1865, at 18th Avenue, Blythebourne, New Utrecht, and called it Villa de Sales. In the advertisements, one could read, "As a female College, it will not be surpassed."⁴⁷ The curriculum was the same as at the Brooklyn house, but board and tuition had now risen to \$300.⁴⁸ In 1891 there were 50 pupils at the school and 28 religious.⁴⁹ Its superiors were Mother M. Liguori Wernig (-1865), Mother M. Leonard Neale (-1867), Mother M. Clotilda Smith (-1873), Mother M. Ambrose Connell (-1879), Mother M. Clotilda Smith (-1885), and Mother M. Agnes Dillon (-1891).

THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH

An interesting and an unusually long letter among those extant from the pen of Bishop Loughlin brought to Brooklyn its third diocesan community of religious women, the Sisters of St. Joseph. This congregation, founded at Le Puy, France, in 1650, opened its first American establishment near St. Louis, Missouri, in 1836. Eleven years later, it opened a house in Philadelphia. To the superior of that house, Mother Mary St. John, the bishop wrote on January 25, 1856. He had made a quick trip to Philadelphia on the day before but failed to find her at home. He proceeded to describe the urgency of his "case"—the formation of a community and the opening of a school without his knowledge. While he desired to observe canonical procedure, he also wished to foster the good work begun. The closing paragraphs of the letter revealed both the deference and the determination of Loughlin as he "most humbly, respectfully and confidently" sought a few Sisters of St. Joseph to carry on the work:

I am satisfied that the good Sisters would succeed admirably, that they are *very much needed*, that under their experienced and careful culture many a tender plant would be saved, that in a very short time they would see that they had done immense good and prevented much evil. There is here a wide field open for their labours.

On our part we will afford them every facility and encouragement and support. If you could send us at once even the smallest number necessary for a new foundation, their number would soon increase and their usefulness be extended and the glory of God promoted.

It is possible that you would be obliged to make a little sacrifice in order to meet my request. In the name of God, let it be made cheerfully for His glory, and I hope He will reward you abundantly. Don't refuse. Don't say, 'We cannot.'

We shall leave nothing undone on our part to make the good Sisters happy.⁵⁰

No record of the superior's reply was found, but that it was favorable is evident from the sequence of events. On March 27, 1856, Edward and Mary Orr bought property for St. Mary's Convent on Grand Street, and on April 2 Orr transferred it to Bishop Loughlin.⁵¹ Here St. Mary's Convent was opened. To it came Sisters Mary Austin Kean, M. Baptist Hanson, and M. Theodosia Barry on August 25, 1856, and began the third diocesan community of religious women. Father Andrew Bohan welcomed them to his parish of the Immaculate Conception at Williamsburg, and there they opened St. Mary's Convent at 479 Grand Street, corner of Graham Avenue. On September 8 they began St. Mary's Academy with 20 girls. Convent and academy were advertised as "delightfully situated one mile from the ferry with spacious playgrounds and well ordered gardens." Board and tuition were \$150 with smaller fees for day pupils. Music, painting, and languages were extra.⁵²

Then Father Malone invited the sisters to the neighboring parish of SS. Peter and Paul, and in May, 1857, they opened St. Joseph's Academy at 34 (later 61) South Third Street. The curriculum at this day school was similar to St. Mary's, but St. Joseph's grew faster and in 1858 had 45 pupils. The sisters also conducted a select school for small boys in the parish of SS. Peter and Paul and taught hundreds in the two parish schools.⁵³

Thereafter, St. Mary's Convent served as a novitiate and Bishop

Loughlin received three candidates at the parish church on June 16, 1857, and predicted the community's great future.⁵⁴ It soon outgrew St. Mary's, and with \$11,000 the sisters bought St. Thomas' Hall at Flushing for a motherhouse, novitiate, and boarding academy.⁵⁵ The place was healthful, it was said, and had extensive playgrounds and shady walks. It was near the ferries plying between New York and Hunter's Point, whence the railroad ran to Flushing. To its dedication by the bishop on Sunday morning, August 26, 1860, 2,000 people came with "bright and cheerful expression" and speaking "in the most hopeful language of the progress of the Church throughout the country."⁵⁶

The academy opened with 35 pupils, one of whom, Mary Crummey, would serve as Mother Mary Louis from 1892 to 1932. By 1870 the sisters were teaching 90 girls at the academy and 350 more children at nearby St. Michael's school.⁵⁷ "The course of education embraced every useful and ornamental branch suitable for young ladies," and "the strictest attention" was paid "their moral and polite deportment." Lay professors, men and women, assisted in teaching music, Latin, French, drawing, and painting. Board and tuition rose from \$120 in 1860 to \$250 in 1875. The usual extras included uniforms.⁵⁸

In 1869 the sisters opened St. Mary's Seminary at Flushing, "hard by the convent," with 30 small boys as boarders. Board and tuition were \$180; washing, mending, music, languages, and drawing were extra. It was urged on "parents who wish to make perfect gentlemen of their little sons to send them to this school" where they were "refined but not made effeminate."⁵⁹ In May, 1873, Sacred Heart Seminary, a "select" school near Bayside, was begun probably for the small boys boarding at Flushing.⁶⁰ In September, 1887, it was moved to Sanford Avenue and Union Street, Flushing.⁶¹

The location and the dates of foundation of the additional parish and community schools begun during this period were: Our Lady of Mercy, 1867; St. Joseph's, Pacific Street, 1868; St. James', November 9, 1869; St. Malachy's, East New York, 1871; St. Ann's and Holy Cross, 1872; Our Lady of Victory, St. John the Evangelist's, and St. Vincent de Paul's, 1873; Our Lady of

Lourdes, 1874; St. Anthony's, 1875; St. Mary Star of the Sea, Far Rockaway, 1877; St. Agnes Seminary, Union Street, 1878; St. Teresa's, 1883; St. Thomas Aquinas', Fourth Avenue, 1884; Nativity and Holy Name, 1885; St. Michael's, Fourth Avenue, and St. Joseph's Boarding Academy for boys, Babylon, 1886; St. Francis Xavier's and Visitation, 1887; Our Lady of Good Counsel, 1889; St. Ambrose's and St. Rose of Lima's, 1890; Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Long Island City, 1891.

At some of these schools the sisters also conducted girls' academic classes for a year or two, recommending continuance of studies at Flushing. The motherhouse in that village was enlarged during the years.⁶² In addition to their teaching, the community undertook the care of orphans and before the close of this period they had begun their first hospital and made several extra-diocesan foundations. The superiors directing the activity were Mother M. Austin Kean (1856-1865), Mother M. Baptist (-1868), and Mother M. Teresa (-1892).⁶³

THE RELIGIOUS OF THE SACRED HEART OF MARY

Some extra-diocesan communities, or religious congregations with motherhouses outside the diocese, also came to Brooklyn during Bishop Loughlin's administration. The first to arrive were the Religious of the Sacred Heart of Mary, founded in 1849 in Béziers, France, by Father John Gailhac. They opened their first American house at Sag Harbor on March 1, 1877, with Mother St. Basil and five other sisters. A happy mischance brought the sisters to Brooklyn as it had brought the Dominican Sisters. Mrs. Sarah Peter, wealthy convert, of Cincinnati, met the founder in Rome and persuaded him to make an American foundation, promising to finance the undertaking and provide a convent. The sisters sailed from Le Havre in February. When they reached New York they learned that Mrs. Peter had died and their informant, Mrs. Dallon of Brooklyn, brought them to St. Peter's Hospital conducted by the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, whom Mrs. Peter had brought to America. On the next day they learned that they were not to go to Ohio but to Sag Harbor, in accord-

ance with arrangements made the year before between Father Heffernan and Père Gailhac.⁶⁴

To accommodate the sisters, Father John Heffernan, the pastor of St. Andrew's parish, bought an imposing residence on East Hampton Street and Bishop Loughlin blessed it on April 15. Heffernan promoted a dance to raise funds for the project in January, 1877. The *Sag Harbor Corrector*, reporting the event, commented, "The foundation of Old Duke's (Fordham's) Suffolk Hotel has gone up to support the stability of the Catholic Seminary building on Union Street. To such base uses do we come at the last."⁶⁵ The building was used as a boarding academy for girls and a few small boys, while two sisters took charge of the nearby parish school. The following year the academy had 19 boarders and some day scholars, but its progress was slow in this remote and small parish.⁶⁶ The superintendence at this Sacred Heart Academy was "most assiduous" and motherly. The course comprised "every useful and ornamental branch suitable for young ladies." French was generally spoken and German, Italian, music, drawing, and painting were added to the board and tuition charge of \$200.⁶⁷

The year 1882 brought to a head an unfortunate difference of opinion between Father Heffernan and Mother St. Basil concerning finances and the regimen of the convent, and the pastor left in 1886 to establish St. Mark's parish at Sheepshead Bay.⁶⁸

THE SISTERS OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY

In September, 1882, four Sisters of Christian Charity, Daughters of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception, came to St. Benedict's parish, succeeding the Dominican Sisters there. Founded at Paderborn in 1849, they had opened a motherhouse at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, in 1874. Father Ignatius H. Zeller, the pastor, made a convent for this extra-diocesan community in part of the old church, which now served for a school. The sisters began teaching 180 pupils, in six elementary grades, catechism, Bible history, mathematics, English, German, geography, history, singing, and needlework. The rooms were then fairly well equipped.⁶⁹

THE BROTHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS

On coming to Brooklyn, Bishop Loughlin found the Christian Brothers teaching the boys at St. James' parish, and—happy presage of future growth—candidates were soon applying for admission to the community.⁷⁰ This elementary school with its library and band quickly achieved some local fame. In fact, an early admirer rated it, with its five brothers and 480 pupils, at least as good as Public School No. 7 with 670 pupils and 19 teachers.⁷¹

About 1875 the school had 488 boys, divided into six grades supervised by as many brothers. For the 44 boys in the highest class, school began at 8:45 A.M. with prayers and recitation. Arithmetic, algebra, mensuration and use of globes, bookkeeping, grammar, spelling, penmanship, and religious instruction followed until dismissal at 3:30 P.M. Maps, charts, and moral maxims adorned the walls.⁷² Catholics were electrified when Brother Justinian, then the principal, challenged the public schools to compete publicly with his boys. The challenge was not accepted but the critics were confounded.⁷³

In 1883 the community began a high school.⁷⁴ St. James' Academy, as it was called, had three departments consisting of three commercial, five grammar, and four primary classes. English, Latin, German, French, higher mathematics, shorthand, type-writing, bookkeeping, and mechanical and free drawing were taught. About 800 boys attended. Eight brothers, three laymen, two lay music teachers, and a marine drill-sergeant composed the faculty.⁷⁵

THE FRANCISCAN BROTHERS

Soon after arriving in Brooklyn, Bishop Loughlin applied to Archbishop John McHale of Tuam for two Irish Franciscan Brothers.⁷⁶ The monasteries of these Franciscan Brothers (Congregation of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis), ruined by the "Reformation," were revived early in the 19th century. McHale had encouraged the brothers, the Sisters of Mercy, and other congregations after the British government failed to furnish schools satisfactory to his Catholic people.⁷⁷ Pope Pius VIII author-

ized the brothers as a teaching congregation on October 2, 1830. They made their first American foundation at Pittsburgh in 1847. In response to Loughlin's appeal, Brother John McMahon, O.S.F., and Brother Vincent Hayes, O.S.F., arrived in Brooklyn from Mount Bellew Monastery, Galway, on May 31, 1858. They lived with the Christian Brothers at 195-197 Jay Street until the fall, when they secured a house at 300 East Baltic Street in St. Paul's parish. The brothers became the first diocesan male community in December, 1859, and the congregation grew rapidly, securing for many years mainly Irish-born recruits. The first novices entered in 1860.⁷⁸ That year the brothers secured an adjoining residence on Butler Street for the monastery and novitiate of St. Francis of Assisi, remodelling both buildings themselves.⁷⁹

St. Francis' Academy, "delightfully situated with garden and play ground," opened its doors in September, 1859. Two brothers and three laymen constituted the faculty. In the next year they had 100 pupils, and soon the brothers had to enlarge their facilities.⁸⁰ From 1870 on there were about 300 students, equally divided between academy and college, and about one-third of them were boarders. Board and tuition costs varied from \$225 in 1869 to \$200 in 1880. Day scholars paid from \$6.00 to \$15.00 quarterly. There were no extra charges. Latin, French, Greek, and German were taught in the 1860's, and by 1875 commercial and scientific courses had been introduced. The upper classes by then were called St. Francis' College, and in 1884 the State Legislature empowered the school to grant degrees.⁸¹ By 1892 the four years of college included botany, chemistry, anatomy, physiology, philosophy, and ethics; the four years of high school gave academic and commercial courses and there was a four-year primary course.⁸²

The Franciscans also opened some other establishments during this period. From 1858 to 1862 they managed the male orphanage on Bedford Avenue. From 1864 to 1873 they conducted St. Bonaventure's Academy at Flushing.⁸³ In 1880 they opened St. Leonard's Commercial Academy at 180 South Fourth Street, Williamsburg, with 100 boys and a curriculum like that of St. Francis'.⁸⁴ In 1888 the community opened a summer residence and, in 1889, Camp Alvernia for boys, both at Centerport.

During the years the brothers also came to teach the boys in a

number of parish schools: St. Joseph's, 1859; St. Paul's, 1861-1878, resumed 1888; Our Lady of Mercy, 1861; St. Michael's, Flushing, 1864-1878; Immaculate Conception, 1866-1871; St. Mary, Star of the Sea, 1869; St. John the Evangelist's, St. Peter's, and St. Charles Borromeo's, 1870; St. Patrick's, Kent Avenue, 1871; St. Ann's, 1873; Assumption, 1882; St. Vincent de Paul's and St. Antony's, 1886; Sacred Heart, 1888; Visitation, 1889. The Brooklyn Franciscan Brothers also opened schools at St. Mary's, Kingston, in 1875 and at St. Bridget's, Jersey City, in 1890.

Some of these schools, such as those at St. Patrick's, St. Charles Borromeo's, St. Peter's, and Star of the Sea, were called academies and had curricula almost on a par with St. Francis' Academy. The brothers walked daily from their Butler Street house to most of their schools and they taught Sunday school in some parishes and in the Truant Boys' Home.⁸⁵

The superiors were the Very Reverend Brothers John McMahon, O.S.F. (-1862), Cyprian O'Beirne, O.S.F. (-1863), Paul St. Leger, O.S.F. (-1866), Jerome Magner, O.S.F. (-1872), Peter Frewen, O.S.F. (-1875), Paul St. Leger, O.S.F. (-1876), and Jerome Magner, O.S.F. (-1894).

THE VINCENTIAN FATHERS

The Fathers of the Congregation of the Mission inaugurated St. John's College and Academy soon after their arrival in Brooklyn in 1868. Expectations mounted as subscriptions were collected and a writer to the *Brooklyn Catholic* of June 12, 1869, asked, "Is it not full time, considering the increase of the Catholic population of Brooklyn and its vicinity, that we should have a Catholic University . . . with its several departments: theological, legal, medical, etc.?" Bishop Loughlin laid the cornerstone of the edifice before a vast concourse of people on Sunday, July 25, 1869. Dr. Edward McGlynn, of St. Stephen's Church, New York, preached on "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord."⁸⁶ Patrick C. Keely was the architect of the building which was healthfully situated on the corner of Willoughby and Lewis Avenues. It had five classrooms and a large lecture hall and, with its cupola visible for miles, was called the college on the hill.⁸⁷

On Sunday, September 4, 1870, the day before the school opened, Orestes Brownson gave the first address in its auditorium.⁸⁸ The opening of this College of St. John the Baptist was modestly advertised:

This institution under the direction of Lazarist Priests will be opened on the first Monday of September. The classes will be under the immediate charge of six Priests, who will give all their attention to the moral and intellectual advancement of their pupils. Terms \$15 per quarter. J. T. Landry, C. M., President.⁸⁹

Forty-seven students came the first day and by the next year there were 112. The college was chartered by the State Legislature that September and it held its first graduation in June, 1872.⁹⁰ In 1888 the institution offered a four-year college course and six primary and secondary academic classes. The curriculum then included natural science, physics, chemistry, trigonometry, calculus, Latin, Greek, German, French, bookkeeping, and mental philosophy. That year the school, including probably the high school, had 130 students, six of whom graduated as bachelors of art and eight with commercial diplomas.⁹¹

Subsequent presidents of the college were the Very Reverends John T. Landry, C.M. (-1875), Patrick M. O'Regan, C.M. (-1875), James A. Maloney, C.M. (-1877), Aloysius J. Meyer, C.M. (-1882), and Jeremiah A. Hartnett, C.M. (-1897).

EDUCATION IN GENERAL

In the period under review, education, whether under Catholic or public school auspices, was in a formative stage and then, as now, subject to certain deficiencies. Orestes Brownson found fault, if somewhat theoretical and idealistic, with both Catholic and public schools.⁹² But criticisms of public schools were not voiced solely by Catholics, nor were they based solely on their lack of religion. Some public school classes in 1873 were overcrowded or held in basements. School Superintendent Maxwell in 1880 found the Brooklyn public schools overshadowed by great private schools.⁹³ Common school literature was criticized by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard, as were American colleges.⁹⁴ James H. Slade said, "Our school system . . . is a miserable and lamentable fail-

ure.”⁹⁵ Lewis, high school principal, declared, “Teachers in public schools are incompetent and unfit.”⁹⁶

While critics of educational methods have raised their voices in every age, such criticisms, coupled with Catholic insistence on religion in education and the growth of the Catholic body, resulted in an increase of the Catholic school population.⁹⁷ We may conclude that, despite their own limitations, mostly in material equipment, Catholic schools were pretty much on a par with public schools. In fact, in 1868 a French observer found Catholic education far above public education generally in the United States.⁹⁸ Catholic schools taught the fundamentals, saved the faith of children, and in competitions with public schools more frequently won than lost.⁹⁹

In face of the resources of the state, it required courage to build and support Catholic schools. Church debts and care for the sick, aged, and orphans hampered their growth. Nevertheless, without state aid and from the free-will offerings of the poor and the moderately circumstanced and from the self-sacrifice of the religious communities, this unique religious phenomenon of the New World steadily evolved. There were never enough Catholic schools to meet the demands.¹⁰⁰ Lay-conducted private academies, some quite excellent,¹⁰¹ offered partial relief, but gradually they passed away as the religious opened more secondary academies. Yearly, more schools were built and church-basement schools became rarer. Some of the first Catholic schools erected were in fact very pretentious, as Father Keegan's at Assumption, which was described as “the largest in Brooklyn,”¹⁰² and Father Fransioli's at St. Peter's, with its hall and gymnasium, said to be “the finest in the land.”¹⁰³

Church collections, fairs, and lectures enabled the parishes to offer relatively free elementary school education. Fransioli first asked the pupils for a weekly dime contribution, next substituted parental free-will offerings, and finally charged only for books.¹⁰⁴ Father Maguire of St. Paul's revived the Free School Society. Its members contributed 50 cents monthly to make his school free to all.¹⁰⁵ Disparity in costs of public and Catholic schools was marked. Fransioli claimed it cost less than \$5.00 annually to educate each

of his 1,500 children, whereas in a nearby public school it cost \$20 for each child.¹⁰⁶

Demarcation between elementary, secondary, and collegiate courses was not so clear-cut as today. The elementary schools in 1854 had three grades; by 1870 they had six.¹⁰⁷ Private schools pioneered in secondary education, and American public high schools were rare in 1870.¹⁰⁸ In the 1860's the academies began giving college subjects and the colleges began to deepen and broaden their curricula.¹⁰⁹ By 1880 the boys' and girls' academies had four-year courses. The boys' schools were strongly classical and prepared students for business and the professions. The girls' schools offered cultural and artistic subjects and prepared for the domestic circle. The courses of study were quite comprehensive, not only for boys, but in most of the girls' schools. The school year ran from the first of September to mid-July.

The results obtained in Catholic schools were manifest at graduation. Graduations from the academies were held in school halls and such fashionable places as Washington Hall, Williamsburg, and the Brooklyn Institute, Academy of Music, and Athenaeum. There were ambitious plays or declamations, music, distribution of premiums, and addresses by the bishop and others. The girls' graduations were called exhibitions and the young ladies displayed samples of their music, needlework, flower making, and painting. A reporter could write of one such affair, in a day less sophisticated than the present:

As each [Visitation] pupil presented herself before the Rt. Rev. Bishop . . . she gave full testimony to the care bestowed upon her by her learned instructors. Her deportment unrivalled, her dress rich and chaste, her countenance beaming with that calm happiness which is the offspring alone of a pure education—she stood before you a well bred lady.¹¹⁰

The boys marched to graduation behind bands, carrying wooden guns and wearing military caps. The exercises were preceded by public examinations held a few days previous. The boys at St. Francis' were "examined in all the higher branches of mathematics . . . Latin, Greek, French and German, and answered with readiness the difficult and perplexing questions given them, not only by the Brothers but also by strangers."¹¹¹ Even elementary

schools sometimes held similar examinations. The pupils at St. Michael's, in Flushing, reflected credit on their lay teachers in a two-day public test held in 1854.¹¹² A public examination in 1863 of the lay-taught boys at Assumption featured the following: the junior band; reading and spelling by the third class; catechism, reading, and geography by the second; and history, geography, grammar, arithmetic, algebra, and geometry by the first.¹¹³

There were even some Catholic kindergartens in those early days. Father Fransioli of St. Peter's had 300 in that class, cared for by the Ladies' Holy Innocents' Union.¹¹⁴ Kindergartens were in operation also at All Saints School and St. John's Orphanage.¹¹⁵

Catholic textbooks, recommended by the Second Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1833, began appearing in the 1840's, with readers first, then geographies and histories with questions and answers but devoid of pictures.¹¹⁶ Not only were books needed, but also lay teachers of both sexes, and a constant search was made for them.¹¹⁷ When found, they gave indispensable help. The upper-grade boys generally had male teachers. Those in the German parishes were often trained and certified at a seminary-like normal school in Milwaukee. Some teachers served also as organists but the earlier teacher-sexton idea was passing away; however, in 1862 one was still being sought through an advertisement.¹¹⁸ The teaching sisters finally saved the day, although the prevalent scourge, "consumption," as it was called, carried off many of them in their early years.

There was little formal teacher-training at the mid-century. Some pastors, like Fransioli, an ex-teacher himself, and Keegan, had excellent schools. The latter "lived in his school, knew every child and never forgot them."¹¹⁹ It was said that he "educated his own teachers, and the graduates from the higher class this year will become his teachers when he needs any. . . . His schools of about 900 pupils are taught by lay persons with three Sisters of Charity to superintend."¹²⁰ The pioneer Dominican Sisters were better trained than their immediate American successors.¹²¹ They encouraged girls inclined toward the religious life to return to school after graduation to help teach and to learn to handle a class.¹²² Their novitiates gave advanced courses and taught pedagogical methods.¹²³ The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in

1884 decreed that diocesan school boards should be set up to examine and certify teachers and inspect schools. In 1887 Bishop Loughlin appointed such a school commission of nine priests,¹²⁴ but its results were not felt for some time.

During the Loughlin administration the German parishes nearly succeeded in achieving the ideal of a school for every church, but the English-speaking parishes were less successful. By the end of 1891 they numbered (counting St. Louis' and St. Stanislaus') 101 English-speaking parishes and 44 schools, but the 23 German-speaking parishes had 20 schools. What was true of Brooklyn was true of the country at large. One contemporary clerical opinion, to be taken with some reservation, may be quoted:

The most important and likewise the most difficult task of the Church at present is the maintenance of the parochial schools. There is hardly a German Catholic parish in the country without its own school. . . . The Irish who send their children to public schools . . . and thereby make life much easier for themselves . . . are even now experiencing the evil results.¹²⁵

And Archbishop McCloskey was quoted as saying in 1867, "What, however, is beyond all praise and a special source of pleasure to our Church—that is the Catholic parochial school; it is the work of the Germans."¹²⁶ However, some extenuation for the Irish lies in the fact that in Germany there was a tradition of Catholic schools, whereas in Ireland, after centuries of poverty and persecution, that tradition had only lately begun to revive.

In 1853 Bishop Loughlin found 10 (counting St. Joseph's and St. John the Evangelist's) English- and one German-speaking parish schools, two girls' academies, about 14 teaching religious, and a school population of about 2,500. By the end of 1891 the following additional English-speaking parish schools had been opened in Kings County: Visitation, 1854; Immaculate Conception, 1855; Star of the Sea, 1856; St. Peter's, 1857; St. Antony's, 1859; Our Lady of Mercy, 1861; St. Malachy's and St. Patrick's, Fort Hamilton, 1863; St. Ann's and St. Vincent de Paul's, 1869; Our Lady of Lourdes and Our Lady of Victory, 1872; St. John the Baptist's, 1873; St. Stephen's, 1875; St. Teresa's, 1883; St. Thomas Aquinas', Fourth Avenue, and St. Bridget's, 1884; Holy Name, Nativity, and St. Michael's, Fourth Avenue, 1885; Our Lady of Good Coun-

sel and St. Francis Xavier's, 1887; St. Matthew's and Sacred Heart, 1888; St. Ambrose's, 1890; St. Augustine's and St. Cecilia's, 1891. In Queens County were: Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Astoria, and St. Luke's, Whitestone, 1872; St. Monica's, Jamaica, 1875; Star of the Sea, Far Rockaway, 1877. Even Suffolk County had two schools: St. Andrew's, Sag Harbor, 1860, and St. Patrick's, Huntington, 1866.

Schools in the German-speaking parishes were also begun as follows: St. Boniface's, 1854; St. Michael's, East New York, 1863; St. Nicholas' and All Saints, 1868; St. Alphonsus' and Annunciation, 1873; St. Bernard's, 1874; St. Benedict's and St. Leonard of Port Maurice, 1875; Holy Family, 13th Street, 1881; Our Lady of Sorrows, 1890; Fourteen Holy Martyrs, 1891. In Queens County were: St. Fidelis', College Point, 1856; Blessed Virgin Mary, Help of Christians, Winfield, 1857; St. Margaret's, Middle Village, 1865; St. Joseph's, Long Island City, 1880; St. Elizabeth's, Woodhaven, 1885; Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Jamaica, 1887. In Nassau: St. Boniface's, Elmont, 1857.

In Kings County additional parish schools were established, in 1869, at St. Louis' (French), which soon became English-speaking, at Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (Italian) in 1882, and at St. Casimir's (Polish) in 1883.

The following table indicates the foundations of parish schools in the pre-diocesan period and during Bishop Loughlin's episcopate:

<i>Year Parishes</i>	<i>Kings</i>	<i>Queens</i>	<i>Nassau</i>	<i>Suffolk</i>	<i>Total</i>
1823 { English	9	1			10
to {					
1853 { German	1				1
	—	—			—
Total	10	1			11
1854 { English	27	4		2	33
to { German	12	6	1		19
1891 { French	1				1
{ Italian	1				1
{ Polish	1				1
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	42	10	1	2	55
GRAND TOTAL	52	11	1	2	66

By the end of 1891 there were in the diocese of Brooklyn: one theological seminary with 60 students; two colleges with 465 stu-

dents; 20 "select" schools and academies with 1,711 boys and girls enrolled; 66 parish schools with 27,207 pupils; three kindergartens with 356 infants; 16 industrial, correctional, and protective institutions with 4,471 children—a total school population of 34,270, or 11.42 per cent of a total Catholic population of about 300,000. There were 830 religious women in the diocese, 107 Franciscan Brothers, 7 Christian Brothers, 12 Vincentian Fathers, 5 Fathers of Mercy, and 1 Pallottini Father—a total of 962 religious, the great majority engaged in teaching.

It was a remarkable achievement, the more so in light of the fact that in 1891 the public school system had a total of 92,747 students in elementary schools and 1,881 in high schools.¹²⁷

*THE PROBLEMS OF RELIEF
AND THEIR SOLUTION*

ON THE EVENING OF THE FEAST of the Immaculate Conception in 1858 a little band of men of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul were assembled in a gas-lit classroom at St. James' school. The meeting was about to adjourn when Bishop Loughlin took the floor, his sharp eyes searching every one present. He spoke

. . . of the interest they should take in the children of the poor, and now, especially, as the enemies of the Church are indefatigable in their efforts, making use of every means to get the children of the poor Catholics under their control, and, it would seem, for the sole purpose of perverting them.¹

The bishop had personally organized the men three years before to cope with the problems of relief. Now he was asking a special effort. Again and again during his administration he would sound that call to the Catholic organizations, to the religious and priests and general body of the Faithful, with the result that years later, when he had passed from the sound of battle, he had achieved an admirable record—perhaps his most outstanding one—in his care for the souls and bodies of underprivileged Catholic children. His concern was but another illustration of the historical fact that Catholic agencies were pioneers in the field of child care.

The crowds of newcomers to Brooklyn, many of them destitute and sick, brought pressing problems of many types to Church and

State. Despite honest attempts to solve these problems, the efforts of the civil authorities were marred by inexperience and ignorance, and conditions in public institutions were described as deplorable.² The Church, on her part, was hampered by her own poverty and by the prejudice of many non-Catholics. Thus, a Mrs. Hyat, in charge of the charities of the Brooklyn Young Men's Christian Association, wrote, "It is perfectly useless to send any Irish to me. I will not do one farthings worth for them . . . [although I] am very happy to relieve the wants of decent human beings."³

A modern social worker, commenting upon the proselytizing of those days, has declared:

Parallel with the development of nonsectarian organizations arose the City Mission Society and the Tract Society. It is perhaps not generally understood and appreciated to what extent Protestant leaders planned the programs of their missions, which were also social agencies, with a view to winning Catholics from their faith. The findings of Theodore Abel are a revelation as to the lengths to which their efforts were directed:

' . . . the work among Catholic immigrants is of particular interest, for it constitutes the ambitious and dramatic effort on the part of Protestantism to win adherents from among the members of another Christian faith, and represents an aspect of the struggle of Protestantism to retain its religious supremacy in this country . . . '

The leaders of the home mission movement adopted the slogan, 'Americanization through Evangelization.'⁴

Then, too, the authorities refused for years to grant freedom of religion to Catholic inmates of public institutions or to allot even a modicum of financial support to Catholic humanitarian institutions. Despite these handicaps—probably the more quickly because of them—Catholic preventive and relief work developed.

Immigrant ship fever, the Civil War, the recurring cholera and yellow fever epidemics that scourged the city in 1854, 1860, 1866, and 1885,⁵ and lamentable working conditions—all these left many orphans in their wake. These unfortunate children were a first charge upon the community; in fact, no other cause appealed so strongly to the Catholic people. Of course, Catholics wanted the children reared in the Faith of their parents. But non-Catholic groups, such as the Children's Aid Society, thinking that Protes-

tantism was the soul of democracy, tried to proselytize Catholic children with bribes of food, clothing, and medicine.⁶

The Truant Law enacted by the State Legislature in 1853 gave legal sanction to this proselytism. Vagrants, truants, orphans, and even children on parental errands were picked up on the streets by agents of the aid societies, were haled to court, and—since the magistrates could not take legal cognizance of the private religious institutions—were sent to the Nursery or the Truant Home in Kings County or to the House of Refuge on Randall's Island. The law was revised to permit the managers of these institutions to indenture outside the asylum—but not outside the state—only those children whose parents were a charge upon the community. Upon completion of their apprenticeship the children were to be enriched with a suit of clothes and a Protestant Bible.⁷ In defiance of the revised law, bad as it was, the managers of these institutions bound out thousands of children yearly to Protestants in the West. Under such tutelage these children became indifferent Protestants or lapsed Catholics and were lost to family and religion.⁸

Children affected by the Truant Law found an able champion in the person of Irish-born Bernard Hughes, who had come to Brooklyn from upstate New York in 1859. This zealous counsel for the St. Vincent de Paul Society reported the deplorable state of affairs to the society's Particular Council on June 6, 1860,⁹ and six months later he gave a lecture at the Brooklyn Athenaeum on the subject, "The Truant Laws of this State and the Injustice of Committing and Banishing Children without a Fair Trial." In his address he charged that the state truant homes were filled by virtue of unauthorized commitments. He alleged, also, that one children's aid society had sent 5,000 boys out of the state during the previous seven years and that its New York agent daily received letters from Methodist clergymen approving the practice. He advocated repeal of the law and the substitution of a measure which would safeguard the faith and liberty of the children.¹⁰

The St. Vincent de Paul Society meanwhile had asked the mayor for permission to teach catechism to the Catholic children at the Truant Home. The request was bandied back and forth between the Board of Aldermen and the superintendent of the home for 18 months before permission was finally granted.¹¹ Even after

that, it was charged that Superintendent Van Elise "compelled the Catholic children in that establishment to hand him in their written confessions, giving them to understand that he had all the authority as one of their priests." ¹²

Despite Catholic opposition and the visits and watchfulness of the Vincentians, the situation remained unchanged.¹³ Bernard Hughes repeated his sentiments of 1860 nine years later in a letter to the *Brooklyn Catholic* wherein he declared, "Every child sentenced to the [Randall's] Island or removed to the [Kings] County nurseries is in danger of being 'lifted' . . . [the officials] allow sneaking emissaries of other denominations to penetrate the penal institutions . . . and carry away selectly [secretly?] the children of Catholic parents." He charged that the law then authorizing Dr. Levi Silliman Ives to gather Catholic children into the New York Catholic Protectory, opened in 1863 in Westchester, was not observed by the religious sharks who were aided by men elected by wage earners.¹⁴

The unequal contest continued and as late as 1881 the House of Refuge on Randall's Island was still "supported by the State but strangely permitted to force Protestantism on its inmates," ¹⁵ although Protestant inmates of the Catholic Protectory were allowed freedom of worship.¹⁶ The *Brooklyn Catholic* had urged the establishment of a Brooklyn Catholic protectory for juvenile delinquents, and the *Catholic Review* stoutly maintained that children should be committed to asylums of their own faith and be there supported by the state.¹⁷ Bishop Loughlin again appealed in 1875 to the Vincentians to defeat two bills before the Legislature which, if passed, "would farm out all pauper children"; ¹⁸ but a decade later another bill aimed to perpetuate control by a corporation of 27 Protestants of all children committed to the Brooklyn institutions for truancy, crime, or poverty.¹⁹

Gradually better counsel began to prevail in legislative circles. It has been attributed to the participation of Catholics in the Civil War and the greater influence exercised by the growing Catholic body in the political, social, and commercial world.²⁰ In 1875 Governor Samuel Tilden signed a bill providing that after January 1, 1876, no magistrate might commit any child between the ages of three and sixteen as vagrant, truant, or disorderly to any county

poorhouse. They were, instead, to be placed in orphanages or private charitable institutions. Soon thereafter Catholic children were sent from Kings County Nursery to St. John's Home, to the Sisters of Mercy, and to Holy Trinity Orphan Asylum.²¹

But the law was slow in winning observance. Overseers of the poor at Jamaica tried to indenture a Catholic child to a Protestant woman.²² Again, Mary Doyle, a Catholic child adopted from the American Female Guardian Society by a Mr. Hornell of Long Island, desired to return to the custody of the society. When he refused permission, she ran away. Hornell caught and beat her, claiming she belonged to him as his horse did. He was fined \$10.00 and she returned to the society, although the society forbade her to practise her religion.²³ Some Catholic Brooklyn children were farmed out to Protestants in the West or sent to Randall's Island as late as 1883.²⁴

The struggle to secure freedom of religious worship within state and county institutions was also protracted, although the New York State constitution declared, "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind" (I, 3). Catholic inmates were not only denied the consolations of their own religion, but they were forced to participate in Protestant services. To allow Mass to be said or the sacraments to be administered was said to be dangerous to the state or at least hindered the discipline of everyone doing the same thing at the same time.

The following incidents, by no means isolated, illustrate some of the local bias. In 1869 a doctor in the City Hospital on Raymond Street tried to eject from the ward a priest summoned to an accident case.²⁵ In 1872 a physician was dismissed from Brooklyn Homeopathic Lying-In Hospital because he was a Catholic.²⁶ In 1877 the Catholics at the County Poor House near Rockville Centre had no opportunity of priestly visits.²⁷ The situation was aggravated by certain publications. *The Methodist*, for example, declared in 1875, "There is no place where Catholics have so much right to consideration as in prisons, of which they are the best patrons."²⁸ The *Eagle* suggested in 1884 that Catholics asked for rights in public institutions "to find employment for idle

priests.”²⁹ Religious discrimination was not the only fault of the public institutions in the 1870’s and 1880’s, for conditions among the children in Brooklyn and at Randall’s Island were unsanitary³⁰ and a tuberculosis patient at the Hempstead Poor House was told he had to work or starve.³¹

After his predecessor, Bishop John Timon, had failed, Bishop Bernard McQuaid of Rochester succeeded in 1872 in securing Catholic worship in an upstate county poorhouse and the election in 1875 of a priest and a minister as chaplains to the Western House of Refuge for juvenile delinquents.³² It was difficult, however, to secure like justice for all public institutions throughout the state, although religious liberty bills decreeing freedom of worship were continually introduced in the Legislature. Governor Alonzo B. Cornell vetoed a bill for a Catholic chaplain at the Randall’s Island House of Refuge in 1881.³³ A similar bill called “abominable” by its enemies was also vetoed two years later.³⁴ In 1884 a bill requiring freedom of worship in all public juvenile reformatories was introduced. In 1885 the New York House of Refuge, the *New York Times*, the *Standard Union*, and Bob Ingersoll at the Brooklyn Academy of Music—all protested that the celebration of Mass would create a state religion. Bishop Abram Littlejohn, first Protestant Episcopal bishop of Long Island, together with the Reverend Richard S. Storrs of Brooklyn and 4,000 Brooklynites, protested the bill. Governor David B. Hill and the Senate supported the measure, but the Republican Assembly obstructed it.³⁵ Similar bills were presented and blocked in the following years: 1886, 1887, 1888, 1889, and 1891. The U. S. Evangelical Alliance supported all candidates who were opposed to such legislation.³⁶ All the while the Randall’s Island House of Refuge received financial support from the state and imposed Protestant worship on Catholic boys. Finally, a bill granting free exercise of religion in all penal and reform institutions supported by public money was passed and became effective on April 30, 1892, under Governor Roswell P. Flower, who wrote, “. . . although in most of the institutions of our State these privileges have been enjoyed for years.”³⁷

Some freedom of worship came to Brooklyn’s public institutions sooner than to the House of Refuge. Until children could

be sent to institutions of their own faith according to the law that became effective on January 1, 1876, the older Catholic children at the County Nursery attended Mass at Holy Cross Church; the younger children were taught catechism by the Sisters of Mercy and by the Vincentians.³⁸ After permission had been secured in 1860 to attend the Truant Home, the Vincentians from St. Joseph's and St. John the Baptist's and the Franciscan Brothers taught Sunday school there, but 15 years later the place was still "entirely under Protestant rule."³⁹ However, by 1886 Father Thomas Mulvany of St. Matthew's was celebrating Sunday Mass there for some 50 Catholic boys.⁴⁰

In 1873 the Commissioners of Charity, who had supplanted the Superintendents of the Poor two years before, allowed the celebration of Sunday Mass at the County Almshouse. The first Mass, attended by 500 persons, was offered that December by Father James J. Doherty, the pastor of Holy Cross parish.⁴¹ Later, confessions were heard weekly and missions were given. The next pastor, Father Bernard McHugh, reported in 1886 that many of the 8,000 persons at the County Almshouse, Lunatic Asylum, and Hospital were Catholic and needed a resident chaplain.⁴² Bishop Loughlin donated lots nearby for a chaplain's residence and asked the St. Vincent de Paul Society to support a priest there.⁴³ In 1887 salaries were granted to the Catholic and Protestant chaplains.⁴⁴ At about the same time Father Patrick J. McNamara and the priests at Our Lady of Mercy began offering Mass at Raymond Street jail.⁴⁵ The Sisters of St. Joseph and the Sisters of Mercy had been instructing the prisoners there, and the Sisters of Mercy visited the penitentiary and city and navy hospitals.⁴⁶ Beginning in 1887 Mass was offered in the lunatic asylum at St. Johnsland,⁴⁷ subsequently called King's Park.

Although Catholics served the Army and Navy in numbers exceeding their percentage of the national population, their spiritual wants were not provided for and petitions for Catholic chaplains went unheeded. The *Christian Intelligencer* called such requests a grave danger to the Republic.⁴⁸ As Father Bacon had done previously, Father Francis J. Freel, at St. James' from 1859 to 1866, often visited the large contingent of Catholic men and officers at the nearby Brooklyn Navy Yard. Madame Bayer and members of

the St. Vincent de Paul Society were frequent visitors also. With Inspector John Furey, U.S.N., at the Yard, 1877-1880, 1889-1893, the situation improved and the first Mass was celebrated there in 1878 by a priest from St. James'.⁴⁹

The difficulty experienced in securing freedom of worship was paralleled by the refusal of public authorities to lend financial aid to the Church for the public services she was rendering by her institutional care.⁵⁰ The Randall's Island House of Refuge with its compulsory Protestant service for all, including Catholics, continued receiving large appropriations, while the Westchester Catholic Protectory received nothing. A modicum of public funds trickled in for the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum. The allotment was a subject of dispute until 1860, when the asylum's claim was acknowledged by the Board of Education. That year Bishop Loughlin received \$7,500 for all claims and the promise that henceforth the orphan schools would receive full support annually after inspection.⁵¹ In 1869 the enemies of the Church were again on the alert and the *New York Times* and the *Tribune* protested the diversion of 20 per cent of the Brooklyn excise tax to private and religious charity schools.⁵² By the law made effective on January 1, 1876, the state gave \$7.50 monthly for each child committed by the court to a religious institution; ⁵³ but the Board of Education refused funds to the German Catholic Orphan Asylum of Brooklyn because it taught religion.⁵⁴ In the 1880's, when the Orphan Asylum Society's expenses were nearly \$200,000 yearly, the board contributed about \$12,000 annually and the county gave 25 cents daily for each committed child.⁵⁵

Besides these occasionally unpleasant public relations, much remains to be recalled of the charitable organizations and works quietly fostered by Bishop Loughlin. On arriving in Brooklyn in 1853, he found the Sisters of Charity and the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society conducting the orphanages in St. Paul's parish. The Emerald Society and the Brooklyn Benevolent Society were also functioning as almoners of the poor. He encouraged these activities, established the St. Vincent de Paul Society, founded many institutions of charity, and introduced religious congregations of women to operate them.

The Orphan Asylum Society, with its nucleus of able and distinguished Catholic men under the presidency of the bishop, helped finance and manage the orphanages. The society was empowered in April, 1865, to bind out children, with the written consent of parents or legal guardians, to service, apprenticeship, or trade.⁵⁶ Apparently it made little use of the power. It remained the *bête noir* of proselytizers and on occasion it was calumniated. The *New York Times* of April 18, 1874, under the headlines of "Exposure of Ring Frauds" and "Stealing of Board of Directors," charged the society's Building Committee with stealing asylum funds. In answer Bishop Loughlin threw open the books of the society and published an exhaustive financial statement accompanied by affidavits.⁵⁷

The sums of money involved in orphan care were always considerable, particularly when new building operations were involved.⁵⁸ Small contributions were received from city, county, and state. By far the greater amount came from private benefactions, some of considerable amount, and from Catholic lay societies and parish collections at Christmas and Easter. The annual amount of these festal offerings from 1854 to 1891 rose from \$1,000 to \$10,000-\$15,000.⁵⁹ A few German parishes contributed small amounts, for many of them maintained their own orphanages. Through the years the Emerald Society held its annual ball for the asylums. In Know-Nothing days the use of Montague Hall was refused the society, and so it hired Tammany Hall in New York and held an unusually successful affair. In 1865 net proceeds reached \$1,000 for the first time. The 1888 ball at the Brooklyn Academy of Music netted nearly \$8,000. By then the society had contributed over \$75,000.⁶⁰ The Brooklyn Benevolent Society likewise continued its substantial aid. For the year ending on March 1, 1855, the society received \$8,325.81 and gave \$4,000 to the orphans. The society also helped 953 families of 3,812 persons.⁶¹ Shortly after submitting its report, this charity also felt the lash of persecution: the Common Council applied to the Legislature in 1857 to tax the society's estate. The attempt was unsuccessful, for by its charter the personal and real estate of the society remained tax-free so long as its revenues were distributed for the education and support of the poor.⁶² The public could read the arguments of the

case in the letter that Stephen B. Brophy, the society's attorney, had printed in the *Eagle* of February 21, 1857. The Shamrock Benevolent Society also sent an occasional donation to the orphans⁶³ and during the years there were numerous benefit picnics, ladies' fairs, concerts, and lectures for orphan support.

A conference of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul had been organized by Bishop Loughlin while he was at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York. He had seen its power for good in dealing with varied forms of distress and bringing unfortunates and benefactors into sympathetic contact. It was natural that early in his administration he should call to the parlor of his residence a group of men and in his brief, incisive way explain that the society was badly needed in Brooklyn to care for Catholic children and to help those in distress. Eleven men from St. James' parish were present that winter evening of January 10, 1855; they elected Dr. Joseph P. Colgan president and Patrick O'Neill secretary of the first Brooklyn conference of the society. In the spirit of Frederic Ozanam the conference proceeded "to occupy itself not with discussions but with good works."

The first report, ending December 1, 1855, showed donations and collections amounting to \$771.84 and disbursements of \$728.41. The members had made 1,321 visits and assisted 300 families composed of 1,200 persons. Of the 75 active and 22 honorary members, 38 were visitors and 25 taught Sunday school.⁶⁴ The second conference was formed in Assumption parish on January 15, 1856, and by 1859 there were conferences in seven parishes. In 1860 the first conference outside the city was established at St. Michael's in Flushing. The conference members were composed largely of working-men.⁶⁵ The Brooklyn Council affiliated with the General Council at Paris in December, 1857, and held its first meeting at St. James' on April 18, 1858. The bishop and members of the clergy attended meetings and gave simple exhortations. Other meeting places were the Catholic Library Society near Joralemon Street, the Young Men's Catholic Association at St. James', and St. John's Chapel.⁶⁶ In December, 1871, the society held its first annual retreat.

The conferences taught Sunday school, represented orphans and apprentice boys in court, recovered children from non-Catholic

control, were the first to suggest a Catholic hospital, helped establish St. Vincent's Home, brought about conversions, visited the poor and sick, buried the dead, organized women's sewing societies, and established free parish libraries. Yellow fever victims in the South and the poor of Ireland and Syria and other remote places received funds from Brooklyn Vincentians, and inmates of public and Catholic institutions at home were their beneficiaries. During 1892 the society distributed \$30,000 in relief. It then had 31 conferences with 671 members, 37 of them honorary. It relieved 1,673 families and made 18,219 visits to 7,618 persons, while its 42 Sunday school teachers taught 3,286 boys.⁶⁷

Besides the effective support lent by the lay organizations in establishing the charities of the diocese of Brooklyn, religious congregations came to the aid of Bishop Loughlin. The story of their accomplishments is bound up with the history of the institutions which he founded and entrusted to them. Their consecrated personal service was manifested toward all the vicissitudes suffered by human nature, but it was foremost in the institutions that the bishop erected to care for the young.

The boys' orphanage on Clinton Street was not occupied long before it proved too small to house its 120 inmates, and the bishop decided to erect another building for them and to use the old one for a house of industry for the girl orphans at Congress Street. He ordered diocesan collections for the purpose⁶⁸ and fairs were held at Montague Hall, Court Street, in December, 1857, and March, 1858. One realized \$6,000.⁶⁹ At the same time the bishop purchased a 14-acre plot at Bedford and Willoughby Avenues, probably on the southwest corner, and there began building an orphanage to accommodate from 500 to 600 boys.⁷⁰ An "imposing brick structure in a pleasant and salubrious locality," it was opened with a three-day fair on June 6, 1858. Father Schneller and Messrs. Levi S. Ives and Richard O'Gorman gave the orations. Three professed Franciscan Brothers and seven postulants were placed in charge of the boys, who soon numbered 248.⁷¹ Tragically, a fire broke out from an overheated flue in the southerly wing during a snow storm early on Sunday morning, November 9, 1862, and despite the efforts of Father Patrick Creighton of St. Malachy's

and the brothers, two of the boys perished. The building which was insured for only \$15,000 was a total loss. The boys were taken to the Congress Street asylum and to the convent at Chapel and Jay Streets recently vacated by the Sisters of Mercy.⁷²

The loss aroused the sympathy of some ladies, a largely Protestant group active during the Civil War, and they proposed to hold a fair. This generous act drew from Bishop Loughlin the following letter:

Having learned that the ladies conducting the Fair at Montague Hall for sick and wounded soldiers have resolved to continue the Fair for the benefit of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum lately destroyed by fire, I beg leave to express my sincere gratitude for the sympathies thus manifested and hope that their anticipations may be realized by a generous correspondence on the part of the community.

J. Loughlin

November 13, 1862

✠ Bishop of Brooklyn ⁷³

Once again Loughlin collected funds, while the Jay Street house grew overcrowded. Then, deeming the Bedford Avenue property too small, he secured for \$20,000 in February, 1864, 72 lots, bounded by Troy and Albany Avenues and Warren and Wyckoff Streets. The laying of the cornerstone in November, 1865, was preceded by a long and colorful parade from Clinton Street to Albany Avenue. A boys' choir, bands, and men's societies participated. St. John's Home with 260 boys was opened on December 1, 1868.⁷⁴

Since the Franciscan Brothers declined to continue, the Sisters of St. Joseph, with Sister Baptista in charge, accepted this introduction to orphan care. Bishop Loughlin dedicated another wing in 1877, and by 1880 the institution had 730 boys.⁷⁵ Unfortunately, another fire, far more disastrous, starting in the laundry on the afternoon of December 18, 1884, took a large toll of lives, including that of Sister Mary Josephine, and caused a \$150,000 loss, two-thirds of it covered by insurance.⁷⁶ The building was promptly rebuilt and in 1891 37 more lots to the south were bought for a playground. In that year 36 sisters cared for 966 boys.⁷⁷

The Sisters of St. Joseph were also entrusted, about 1876, with St. Malachy's Home for Orphan and Destitute Children. It was

established in St. Malachy's parish, East New York, by Father Martin Carroll before he left the parish in 1872. Located on the corner of Atlantic and Van Siclen Avenues, it sheltered 150 boys, aged three to seven.⁷⁸ In 1891 13 sisters cared for 229 boys and 117 girls.

About 1876 also, the sisters opened their third orphanage, St. Joseph's, for girls at Flushing.⁷⁹ An orphan summer home at Coney Island was secured in 1883 by the bishop's purchase of the Sea View Hotel and a tract of land 300 feet wide extending from the Atlantic Ocean to Gravesend Bay. The sisters took charge of this Sacred Heart Orphanage, or St. John's Coney Island Summer Home, as it came to be called.⁸⁰

The Sisters of Charity continued their beneficent work for orphan girls at St. Paul's parish. In 1858 an addition to the orphanage was erected. The building on Clinton Street was also used for an industrial school for the older orphans, and its occupants rose from 250 in 1857 to 530 orphans and 80 industrial school pupils in 1870.⁸¹ Again it became necessary to provide larger quarters for the girls and land was purchased in September, 1866, at Willoughby and Yates (Sumner) Avenues for \$25,000. There a large building was erected at a cost of nearly \$275,000, paid for in good part by the earnings of the industrial school.⁸² It was opened in October, 1873, as St. Joseph's Female Orphan Asylum and 315 smaller children entered from Clinton Street. Sister Mary Lewis was in charge until 1892, in which year St. Joseph's sheltered nearly 600 girls. At the age of 12 the girls returned to the Clinton Street industrial school which prepared them to earn their living. They were taught sewing and needlecraft from the beginning,⁸³ and in 1874 Dr. Hoyt, Secretary of the State Board of Charities, declared the school with its 400 girls to be "the best systematized industrial charity" that he knew.⁸⁴ The institution advertised embroidery, dress and garment making, plain and fancy needlework by hand and on machine, and it sold the products to Brooklyn ladies and manufacturing concerns.⁸⁵ Sister Mary Constantia Hull remained in charge until her death in 1885. In 1891 there were 229 girls at the school, making a total of 3,842 orphan admissions by the Sisters of Charity since 1839.⁸⁶

The Sisters of Mercy had not envisioned orphan care among

their objectives, but somehow their Jay Street convent began filling up with orphans until the larger Willoughby Avenue building, into which they moved in November, 1862, had become imperative. A substantial addition to this, St. Francis of Assisium Female Orphan Asylum, was erected on Classon Avenue in 1883. The number of girls cared for rose from 80 in 1866 to 510 in 1891.⁸⁷

The sisters also conducted the St. Francis Industrial School at Kent and Willoughby Avenues, teaching the girls useful trades. Nearly half of the orphan girls were old enough for this school.⁸⁸ The school, which had 70 steam presses, advertised family sewing by hand or machine, dress and cloak making, embroideries, shawls, opera cloaks, dresses, veils, linens, artificial flowers, wreaths, crowns, bouquets, scarfs, banners, badges, and vestments.⁸⁹ Some of the work was done for manufacturers who, for instance, paid 30 cents for a dozen linen shirt fronts. From such pittances the great charity was maintained. During the decades that the school functioned, employment was secured for thousands of girls.⁹⁰

The German parishes, meanwhile, had been conducting smaller orphanages of their own which remained independent of the supervision and support of the diocesan system. They illustrated the German idea that each parish should make complete provision for all its needs. The foundation for the first of such orphanages was laid in Holy Trinity parish when Father Raffeiner organized an Orphan Home Society. Each member obligated himself to pay 25 cents monthly. Little of a practical nature was done, however, and the society was not incorporated until December 5, 1861, five months after Raffeiner's death. In June, 1863, Father Michael May, the next pastor, asked the Sisters of St. Dominic to care for the neglected children of the parish. They gave their convent for an orphanage and there the children were housed until 1869, when a larger asylum was erected at 153 Graham Avenue. In 1871 it sheltered 70 orphans.⁹¹ Expenses were met by the begging of the sisters and by the \$5.50 paid monthly by the society for each child. In 1875 the city began committing children and it paid the sisters 25 cents daily for each.

The Dominican Sisters also included in nearly all their first convents accommodations for a dozen or so little waifs, while some

of the German parishes provided separate orphanages.⁹² The next largest after Holy Trinity was that of the Sorrowful Mother Home, built in 1890 at Harrison Place. All told, in 1894 the sisters were caring for 1,460 children in 12 orphanages. They were accommodated as follows: Holy Trinity, 550; St. Leonard's, 80 boys and girls; Annunciation, 130 boys; Sorrowful Mother Home, 300; St. Fidelis', College Point, 40 girls; Presentation, Jamaica, 60 boys; St. Joseph's, Long Island City, 80; Amityville, 180; and four other convents with 10 each.⁹³ Their wards received an elementary education and the boys were taught printing and shoemaking and were paid for their work when they reached the age of 16. However, it was not all work, for the boys had a military company and a brass band.⁹⁴

The problem of shelter for homeless boys who slept out of doors and lived from hand to mouth without benefit of education or religion was partly met by the establishment of St. Vincent's Home.⁹⁵ Father Freel proposed the project to the Particular Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society on October 20, 1865.⁹⁶ By October, 1868, enough funds were subscribed to secure the premises at 10 Vine Street near the newspaper offices. Bishop Loughlin blessed the home on October 15, 1869, and it opened 11 days later with eight boys. It was the first Catholic institution of its kind in the United States. About 1871 adjacent property was taken at 7 Poplar Street giving space for 100 beds, a chapel, library, and gymnasium.⁹⁷ The institution, known for years as the Newsboys' Home, was chartered as St. Vincent's Home of the City of Brooklyn for the Care and Instruction of Poor and Friendless Boys. Its purpose was to rescue boys from evil associations, to help them become respectable citizens and earn an honest living. Sometimes styled a Catholic Truant Home and Reformatory that offset the kidnapping and deportation of Catholic vagrants to farms in the West, it was never a penal institution but a home whose inmates were free to come and go.⁹⁸ The general public praised the project, an *Eagle* editorial declaring:

We give unusual prominence to the appeal of Bishop Loughlin and his associates on behalf of the ragged barefooted urchins of the streets. . . . Unless something is done to civilize and Christianize these boys

the community will have . . . a terrible price to pay. . . . The enterprise of Bishop Loughlin is not merely useful—it is positively necessary.⁹⁹

The home received boys ranging from seven to sixteen years of age. Evening classes were taught by the Franciscan Brothers and the boys were charged from 10 to 15 cents for two meals and a night's shelter.¹⁰⁰ During 1887 nearly 10,000 lodgings were given and 23,000 meals were served; 200 boys used the home and daily attendance averaged 27.¹⁰¹ In 1891 daily attendance rose to 53. The home was supervised by the General Council of the St. Vincent de Paul Society and various priests gave spiritual guidance. Father Maurice Hickey, the first resident-chaplain, served from 1876 to 1883.¹⁰²

But St. Vincent's Home did not provide shelter for troublesome youngsters or those in delicate health, and the cry of the now defunct *Brooklyn Catholic* for such a shelter was taken up by the *Catholic Review*. The project was not realized, however, until January, 1890, when Bernard Earle gave a farmhouse and 100 acres of land at Hicksville. Nine days later the Sisters of St. Joseph, under Sister M. Adelaide, inaugurated their work there. A chapel was built in 1891 and by the close of that year 125 boys were learning useful trades at St. John's Industrial Home, or Protectory, as it was first called.¹⁰³

Yet another problem of delinquency, this time of wayward girls and women, troubled Bishop Loughlin. The usual procedure was to send the unfortunate women to jail, but this failed to improve them. After conferring with the matron of the Tombs Prison and with others, he determined to establish a House of the Good Shepherd.¹⁰⁴ Accordingly, the Convent and House of the Good Shepherd was begun in Brooklyn on May 8, 1868, when the Sisters of the Good Shepherd rented a three-story house at 229-231 Henry Street near Atlantic Avenue.¹⁰⁵ To support themselves, they advertised the object of their institute as a mild and gentle training of their charges to habits of industry and morality. Their wards were received without distinction of religion. They were classified as penitents and some of them took vows as Magdalens, or as preservatives who were secured from danger. The sisters solicited needlework of every description and made vestments and flowers for

churches and parlors.¹⁰⁶ Parish collections were begun and with the proceeds it became possible in 1871 to buy 60 lots at Hopkinson and Rockaway Avenues and Dean and Pacific Streets for \$30,000.¹⁰⁷ The next year the sisters rented buildings at Atlantic and East New York Avenues.¹⁰⁸ Their new building was not completed until May, 1887, when it was blessed by Bishop Loughlin.¹⁰⁹

In 1870, when the courts made their first commitments, the institution had 12 religious, three out-sisters, and 53 penitents.¹¹⁰ But while many approved the good work, critics were not lacking to claim the women could be provided for more cheaply and efficiently in public prisons.¹¹¹ In 1891 there were 21 choir sisters, 26 professed lay sisters, and 15 out-sisters, 50 Magdalens, 175 penitents, 164 preservates, and 34 boarders.

Provision was made for unwanted old people by the bishop of Brooklyn when he invited to the diocese the Congregation of the Little Sisters of the Poor.¹¹² Mrs. Sarah W. K. Peter of Cincinnati had recommended an American foundation to Father Ernest Lelièvre, C.L.S.P., then directing the Little Sisters, and he reached New York on June 10, 1868. He was followed by Mother Marie Claire and seven sisters, who sailed from their Brittany mother-house in August, 1868, and arrived in Brooklyn on September 13.¹¹³ On September 18 they made their first New World foundation in three frame houses which Lelièvre rented for them at 606-610 De Kalb near Nostrand Avenue.¹¹⁴ The community next purchased a house and 16 lots on Bushwick Avenue and Chestnut Street (De Kalb) and occupied the house on April 4, 1869.¹¹⁵ By 1871 the home, without regard for nationality or creed, sheltered 130 persons aged 60 or over, poor, and of good moral character.¹¹⁶

Bishop Loughlin blessed the cornerstone of a new building in July, 1871, and the completed building in June, 1872.¹¹⁷ A few years later, in March, 1876, a disastrous fire took 18 lives.¹¹⁸ Shortly after this sad event the house was enlarged and more property bounded by Bushwick, Evergreen, and De Kalb Avenues and Stockholm Street was acquired. A second house was begun, some miles south, in September, 1879, in two small rented dwellings at 210 25th Street near Fifth Avenue, South Brooklyn. It opened on Christmas Day with 30 guests.¹¹⁹ By begging and parish collections a larger property at Eighth Avenue and 16th Street

was next purchased. Bishop Loughlin laid the cornerstone of this second home in October, 1880, and he dedicated it in October, 1882.¹²⁰ In 1891 the De Kalb Avenue Home, now the motherhouse of the eastern provincialate, had 17 sisters and 260 inmates; the Eighth Avenue Home had 15 sisters and 291 inmates.

Four other homes or shelters were opened during Loughlin's administration: the first, a specialized agency, midway in his administration; the others in his last years. The first institute in Brooklyn and the sixth in the United States for the instruction of deaf-mutes was opened by an extra-diocesan religious community wearing lay dress and known as the Society of the Daughters of the Heart of Mary. Under Madame Victorine Boucher they began a Brooklyn day school with 19 girls at 177 Union Street in May, 1874. At first an annual tuition of \$250 was charged.¹²¹ The school prospered and the Jones Mansion at 510 Henry Street was purchased. It was occupied in April, 1876, with girl boarders, aged 6 to 14. That year, some state support was given for children aged 12 and older and they were instructed in religion, needlework, and useful trades.¹²² A large building, erected on Buffalo Avenue between Dean and Bergen Streets, was opened on June 17, 1889, with the title of St. Joseph's Institute for Deaf Mutes.¹²³ In 1891, 63 deaf-mute girls were taught free of charge by the principal, Miss Margaret Cosgrove, assisted by seven other ladies of the Daughters of the Heart of Mary.

Bishop Loughlin made additional efforts to care for the deaf-mutes in the diocese, commissioning, about 1878, Father Bernard A. Plunkett to learn the sign language at Montreal.¹²⁴ Father Thomas F. Ward, pastor of St. Charles Borromeo's, also took up the work and began a Sunday school for deaf-mutes in 1885. In June, 1886, he organized St. Joseph's Union of Deaf Mutes for Brooklyn's Catholic deaf-mutes, 200 of whom were then enumerated. The union helped sick and unemployed deaf-mutes, and the services of the Franciscan Brothers and of some ladies were employed in teaching.¹²⁵

Three other homes for women were established by Bishop Loughlin. St. Elizabeth's Home for infants and destitute mothers was opened at 175 Fort Greene Place in June, 1886. It was operated a few years by some lay members of the Third Order of St.

Francis but the charity seems to have ceased soon.¹²⁶ To offset the dangers and difficulties confronting young women who were employed in stores and factories and were without homes, other shelters were opened. Such a one was Loretto House, a boarding home for working women of all creeds. It was opened on November 6, 1889, in a mansion at 78 Willow Street. It was conducted by four Franciscan Sisters of Mary and soon housed 50 self-supporting young women.¹²⁷ Another was St. Peter's Home, on Congress Street between Hicks and Henry. This was opened for unemployed working girls by Father Joseph Fransioli, pastor of St. Peter's. On March 26, 1890, the Sisters of St. Joseph came to staff it and in the next year it had 40 boarders.¹²⁸

The need of a Catholic charity hospital became apparent early in Bishop Loughlin's administration.¹²⁹ In fact, it was broached at a meeting of the Particular Council of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul on August 21, 1858, and a committee was deputized to speak about it to the bishop. They reported on October 7 that "the Bishop had given sanction to the undertaking and was much pleased that the Society had taken the matter in hand, but owing to the many demands made at present upon the people he suggested that no action be taken at present."¹³⁰

However, six years later, on September 23, 1864, as a result of a meeting of Sarah Peter and Father Fransioli at Rome, Sister Felicitas and three companion Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis made a Brooklyn foundation.¹³¹ While the hospital was being planned, Fransioli established them in the six-room house on Congress Street that he had opened for orphans of Civil War soldiers. The building was enlarged and soon 200 children were cared for, the Franciscan Brothers teaching the boys.¹³² Then, during the cholera epidemic of 1866, the sisters nursed the sick in private homes and dispensed food. That same year they incorporated the building as St. Peter's Hospital and confined their efforts to general hospital work.¹³³ The infant charity received small sums of public money, the Ludwig Missionsverein and Sarah Peter helped, and the sisters begged alms.

In 1878 the present site on Henry Street between Warren and Congress was bought. Bishop Loughlin laid the cornerstone of the new hospital on September 13, 1888, and dedicated the completed

structure on January 11, 1890. It had 250 beds and cost over \$200,000.¹³⁴ During 1891 the 30 sisters there cared for 1,800 bed patients and 2,900 dispensary cases, supplied 40 destitute families with daily food, and housed 36 poor children. The superiors of this extra-diocesan community were: Sister Felicitas (1864-1865); Sister Joachim (-1866); Sister Monica (-1867); Sister Gonsalva (-1872); Sister Afra (-1876); Sister Blanca (-1886); Sister Gonsalva (-1899).

Brooklyn's first Catholic hospital was quickly followed by another. It began in 1868 when Sister M. Emiliana and two other Sisters of Charity opened St. Mary's Female Hospital with a free dispensary in a small house at 153 Clinton Street. Despite much hardship the work expanded and before the first year ended, the hospital had treated 500 patients.¹³⁵ Larger accommodations were imperative, and so the hospital was reestablished in November, 1871, around the corner at 155 Dean Street.¹³⁶ Early the next year a maternity department was opened at 153 Dean Street. In August, 1876, a foundling ward was added. In 1888 the corporate title was changed to St. Mary's Maternity and Infants' Home. One year later another addition was completed.¹³⁷ During 1891, 12 sisters cared for 251 bed patients and 6,820 dispensary cases at the Female Hospital and 218 children at the Nursery.

The need of another general hospital had become acute and in 1877 Bishop Loughlin bought ground for one at St. Mark's and Buffalo Avenues. He laid the cornerstone on October 18, 1879, and opened the building as St. Mary's General Hospital on December 17, 1882, under the supervision of Sister M. Emiliana, who was succeeded at the Dean Street Female Hospital by Sister Ann Alexis. The institution opened with eight wards, half of them for charity patients. In March, 1890, the school of nursing began with 15 students.¹³⁸ The hospital had an illustrious staff from the beginning.¹³⁹ During 1891, 1,265 bed patients were received and 1,848 dispensary cases were treated.

St. Catherine's Hospital in the Eastern District, the third oldest Catholic institution for the care of the sick, was established by Father Michael May as part of the parochial facilities of the parish of Holy Trinity. In October, 1868, he proposed to Mother Seraphine the institution of a Third Order of Sisters of St. Dominic

to care for the proposed hospital.¹⁴⁰ The next August he bought the Thursby house and farm on Bushwick Avenue, one-half mile from the parish church.¹⁴¹ The sisters took up residence in the cottage in June, 1870, and began studying their profession and nursing patients in private homes. The next January they received their first patient in the hospital which had 36 beds. On August 9, 1874, Bishop Loughlin laid the cornerstone of the new hospital on Bushwick Avenue between Maujer and Ten Eyck Streets; he dedicated the building on August 10, 1876. In 1884 a Ten Eyck Street addition was constructed, thanks largely to the efforts of the sisters who had begged much of the money for both buildings.¹⁴² During 1891 the hospital with its 43 sisters cared for 176 male and 735 female patients and 1,205 dispensary cases.

Bishop Loughlin established his fifth hospital, St. John's of Long Island City, in 1890. He secured some property and buildings at Jackson Avenue and 12th Street for the hospital, the first in that municipality of 30,000 people. It was entrusted to the Sisters of St. Joseph. The first patient was received on May 23, 1891, and by the end of the summer the institution had increased from 13 to 80 beds. The first year 134 patients were admitted.¹⁴³

John Loughlin must be set down as a pioneer bishop in modern American social relief. His problems were great, varied, and enduring. He had little of the organization and coordination of modern practice to help him and little precedent or experience to guide him, but his achievements were considerable. His quiet, unobtrusive efforts to secure freedom of worship in public institutions helped to broaden the public mind, while his less successful attempts to secure adequate public funds for the underprivileged, afflicted, and wayward at least made the public aware of Catholic sacrifices for humanity. The physical, mental, and moral care that he gave to many thousands of immigrants and citizens, both minor and adult, contributed in no small measure to the upbuilding of the great city of Brooklyn. More important, he sowed and reaped spiritual values, for the primary motive of his labors was the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

Bishop Loughlin was also a pioneer in the care and instruction of deaf-mutes and in the establishment of a home for working boys. His orphanages and the number of children in them stood

first in the United States.¹⁴⁴ It has been said that by 1889 the hospitals of the diocese had a greater bed-capacity than that provided for by all other similar private institutions in Brooklyn.¹⁴⁵

The bishop found two small orphanages when he arrived in 1853. He left five great orphan institutions, a summer home, and 12 small German orphanages. He established two industrial schools for girls and one for boys; two homes for the aged, in addition to one for boys and three others for women; an institute for deaf-mutes; a house of the Good Shepherd; and five hospitals with ample facilities for charity patients—34 institutions in all. In these diocesan houses of charity and relief during 1891 nearly 5,000 children and over 600 adults were given year-round care, and the hospitals treated 4,307 bed patients exclusive of dispensary or clinical cases.

When he came to Brooklyn John Loughlin found the Sisters of Charity engaged in orphan work, as well as the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society, the Brooklyn Benevolent Society, and the Emerald Society. He expanded the charitable work of the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of St. Dominic. He introduced the Sisters of Mercy and the Sisters of St. Joseph to charity work. For the same purpose he brought into the diocese and developed the work of the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, the Little Sisters of the Poor, the Good Shepherd Sisters, the Daughters of the Heart of Mary, and the Franciscan Sisters of Mary, and it was he who founded that remarkable organization of all relief, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, and who encouraged lay auxiliaries.

Aided principally by the small offerings of the Faithful, Loughlin accomplished these things in 38 years—the great majority of them in the first 20 years. All of these organizations and institutions, with a few minor exceptions, grew wonderfully and flourished for scores of years after he had departed.

SOME ASPECTS OF CATHOLIC LIFE

FEEBLY AT FIRST, but with a steadily growing permanence, Catholic life took form in the parishes of the new diocese of Brooklyn. As the years passed and the number of Faithful and their opportunities increased, the elements of their Catholicism were organized on a parochial, diocesan, and national scale. Some of their spiritual, charitable, and cultural manifestations deserve recording.

The churches were crowded on Sundays then as now. In most city parishes the last Mass was sung at 10:30 A.M. while vespers was celebrated at 3:30 in the afternoon.¹ Congregational singing at evening devotions became quite general.² Commenting on the growing custom of keeping churches open until early evening, the *Catholic Review* expressed its confidence that "We are so strong now that the chances of desecration or misuse of such a privilege are daily diminishing."³ A decade before, on October 5, 1872, that same journal had rejoiced:

Year after year develops the progress of Catholicity on Long Island. To the non-Catholic inhabitants of the island, a 'Romish Church' is no longer a thing of wonderment, a Roman priest is no longer a stranger. Scarce a village from East New York to Sag Harbor, or from Glen Cove to Rockaway, is without a church of the old grand faith. Hempstead, erst a village of zealous Protestantism and boasted anti-Romanishness, has now its beautiful cross-crowned Catholic spire, and next Sunday shall have its consecrated altar.

The great recurring feasts were elaborately celebrated and the sermons and music were duly reported in the press. The churches of St. Charles Borromeo and the Assumption were renowned for

their music and St. James' had an excellent chancel-choir. At the German parishes it was customary for rifle companies to take part as guards of honor in the religious processions.⁴

Notices of Lenten regulations and evening sermons were carried in the press, which marveled at the great numbers of Faithful who made the successive jubilees and attended jubilee retreats in some parishes.⁵ The Forty Hours devotion, formally approved for the United States in 1866, was introduced into the diocese at St. James' on June 21, 1874.⁶ The first pilgrimage to Rome and Lourdes that year also found favor in Brooklyn.⁷

There were some daily communicants among the laity even then, numerous monthly Communion, and a great many at Christmas and Easter.⁸ First Holy Communion and Confirmation were frequently administered at the same ceremony or on the same day, with Holy Communion in the morning and Confirmation at vespers. The children were dressed suitably for the occasion and the bishop preached.⁹

A parish mission was a tremendous event. It was held at five-year intervals and was often signalized by the display of a huge mission cross, as at St. Joseph's by the Passionists.¹⁰ The Redemptorist missions of 1853 at Flushing and at Star of the Sea in 1856, were the first of which record remains. They were followed in 1857 by the Passionists from Pittsburgh under Father Gaudentius Rossi at St. Joseph's; and by the Jesuits in 1858, under Father Francis X. Weninger, at St. Mary's in Winfield. The next year the advent of the Jesuits at St. Benedict's was marked with cannon fire and bands. On the church grounds was erected a large wooden cross, 35 feet high, with points of German silver and carrying the inscription in German, "He who perseveres to the end will be saved." In 1861 Father Rossi, C.P., gave eastern Suffolk County its first missions, using the Riverhead courthouse. He next gave a two-weeks mission at Sag Harbor and received some converts. He preached also at Greenport and on the closing day 150 Catholics sailed over from Sag Harbor and with the temperance society and Sunday school paraded to Father Brunemann's high Mass.¹¹ The Vincentians came for their first mission to St. Ann's in 1869 and the Dominicans held theirs at Far Rockaway in 1871. Mission bands varied from four to seven priests. At such times, reception

of Holy Communion by 5,000 persons was frequent and 8,000 were reported at St. Charles Borromeo's.¹² Diocesan priests also gave occasional missions. "Especially . . . in the country . . . for at least five days . . . they [diocesan priests] give three instructions daily . . . [and] the bishop has permitted the pastor to give the Papal Benediction."¹³

Sunday schools for those who did not attend parish school became better organized. The teachers insisted on cleanliness and good behavior. They furnished clothing to poor children and had lending libraries and gave annual premiums of a wholesome book to each child. These schools were organized for First Holy Communion, Confirmation, and perseverance classes. Some parishes, such as Assumption, had Sunday morning reading classes for boys 16 years of age or older; at St. Paul's six classes of older boys came for catechism in the morning and came again in the afternoon to read "The Duty of the Christian Towards God" and Old and New Testament history.¹⁴ The same practice was followed in the parishes of St. Charles and Assumption. There were evening classes also for adults at SS. Peter and Paul's and at Immaculate Conception.¹⁵ Attendance at some Sunday schools was very large, as at SS. Peter and Paul's, where it was claimed that over 1,000 children were taught by brothers, sisters, and lay persons. Vincentians from the various parish conferences, the Guild at St. Paul's, and the Confraternity of the Holy Cross also furnished teachers.¹⁶ The organization of the Brooklyn Christian Doctrine Society, early in 1853, was followed by the proposal of a larger union, and on November 13, 1855, about 150 Sunday school teachers from 29 Brooklyn, Newark, and New York parishes met at St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York to discuss the matter.¹⁷

The period also saw the growth of other spiritual societies. The Archconfraternity of the Immaculate Heart of Mary was followed by Rosary Archconfraternities which were established in all the parishes, as were the Holy Angels, the Infant Jesus, and the St. Joseph Societies.¹⁸ Receptions into the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin and coronations of her statues in May were moving affairs.¹⁹ A girls' sodality existed at Visitation Academy in 1856.²⁰ The first branch of the Holy Name Society was established at St. Paul's by Father Charles H. McKenna, O.P., in May, 1872. Soon after, 12

Holy Name societies met at Star of the Sea Church and formed, it was said, the first diocesan union in the United States. In 1891 there were 3,000 Holy Name members in the diocese.²¹

The diocese was dedicated to the Sacred Heart by Bishop Loughlin on December 8, 1873, and Sacred Heart devotions quickly spread. The following year a Sacred Heart Sodality for boys not attending Catholic schools was established at St. James'.²² The Guard of Honor of the Sacred Heart was established at Visitation Monastery on October 21, 1882. It became an Archconfraternity for the United States, the third in the world, on March 11, 1883.²³ Not long afterwards, the Third Order of St. Francis was canonically established at St. Agnes', St. Charles Borromeo's, and Our Lady of Mercy.²⁴

The first strictly contemplative community entered the diocese in 1889 with the advent of the Sisters Adorers of the Most Precious Blood. They introduced the idea of prayer and penance to wondering non-Catholic neighbors and they offered closed retreats and an enrichment of Catholic life to Catholics. This diocesan community, which then made its first foundation in the United States, was founded at St. Hyacinth, Canada, in 1861 by Mother Catherine Aurelia Caouette. The sisters collected funds in Brooklyn in 1882; four years later, Bishop Loughlin's grandniece, Katherine Collins, and her widowed mother, Mary Merrick Collins, entered the St. Hyacinth community. The bishop presided at their religious profession there in 1888.

Six sisters began the Brooklyn establishment on December 4, 1889. Among them were the bishop's grandniece, who was to become Mother Catherine de Ricci, and her mother, then Sister Mary Joseph. They dwelt in a small cobblestone cottage at 289 Sumpter Street near Hopkinson Avenue. This house soon was exchanged for a frame monastery.²⁵ Loughlin blessed it on April 30, 1890, and the sisters began giving retreats for women in rooms "especially prepared for the purpose."²⁶ The community under Mother Gertrude (1890-1898) grew, until in 1891 it numbered 16 sisters. The Confraternity of the Most Precious Blood was erected on May 3, 1891.

The impetus given the parish temperance societies by Father Mathew's visit to the United States in 1849-1851 persisted, and for

decades temperance groups bearing his name thrived. They paraded on his birthday and with the Irish societies on St. Patrick's Day. They exercised a moderating influence and offered beneficial and cultural advantages.²⁷ For instance, in 1869, the fourth division of the Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Beneficial Society pledged its members,²⁸ aged 15 to 40, to abstain from all intoxicating malt liquor, wine, and cider. A 25 cent tax was levied upon the death of a member or his wife and \$30 was given toward funeral expenses. The society at St. Paul's had 350 members in 1875 and from 1864 to that year, paid out \$20,000 in benefits.²⁹ The parades were often reviewed by the mayor and the Common Council. Most memorable, perhaps, was the parade of 1869. It traversed crowded downtown Brooklyn to City Hall for official review. In line were boys wearing red trousers and green jackets and carrying swords, pikes, and flags; 11 societies of the A.O.H.; 900 members in the regalia of the Roman Catholic Total Abstinence Beneficial Societies; and four Father Mathew Total Abstinence Societies.³⁰ A unit was formed at Sag Harbor on November 15, 1861, called the St. Andrew's Temperance and Beneficent Society. The following year on St. Patrick's Day it celebrated with high Mass and a parade with a cornet band. In the evening there was vespers with a sermon by Father Brunemann. Thereafter, 200 enjoyed a bountiful repast, speeches, and songs. "No one," slyly commented the Sag Harbor *Corrector* "was in the least bit intoxicated," which may have been a Puritanic damning with faint praise.³¹ The societies at Sag Harbor, Jamaica, Flushing, Hunter's Point, and Eastern District also celebrated with parades, banquets, orations, and balls.

By 1872 the Brooklyn Diocesan Temperance Union had 16 societies and 3,200 members. Its annual conventions held at St. James', the Academy of Music, and the Brooklyn Athenaeum were often addressed by Bishop Loughlin.³² But by 1881, although St. Patrick's Day Masses were crowded, the movement had begun to decline, partly, at least, because of the maneuvers of the early prohibitionists. Although there were 20 local societies in 1890, total membership had fallen to about 1,600.³³ Some pastors won fame, however, by continuing their activities against the opening of saloons on Sunday and the after-midnight closing.³⁴

Catholics were unjustly accused of lack of interest, but their leaders consistently maintained the only reasonable attitude—temperance always and abstinence often. The Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America deprecated legal means to suppress intemperance at its first convention in Baltimore on February 18, 1872.³⁵ The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866 had protested the vice of drunkenness and urged temperance. The Third Council in 1884 urged liquor dealers to enter a more reputable business. The “pledge” was often given at First Holy Communion and at Confirmation as well as at missions. Hundreds of men came to the monthly temperance meetings, at which there were occasional lectures or sermons which kept ideals alive,³⁶ debate concerning the treasury, and discussion about how to attract more members to meetings. Sometimes the pastor had to intervene to save the peace, but it was better than the saloon.

Brooklyn Catholics continued to aid good causes elsewhere, and, as their numbers increased, contributed ever more generously, despite their own urgent necessities. The St. Vincent de Paul Society sent relief to many distant places and there were diocesan-wide parish collections as well, for example, for the yellow-fever sufferers in the South, the Charleston earthquake victims, the poor in Ireland during the crisis of 1879-1880 and in support of the Irish Land League’s agitation against “landlordism,” and for Church needs in other dioceses.³⁷ The annual gifts of Peter’s Pence and the early offerings for the North American College in Rome and for the papal jubilees were considerable.³⁸ Of all the American dioceses Brooklyn was fourth in the size of the offerings sent in 1879 to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith;³⁹ it contributed the second largest amount to the Good Friday collections for the Holy Land in 1889;⁴⁰ and it was fourth in contributions to Indian and Negro Missions from 1887 to 1891.⁴¹

In turn, the diocese itself received some financial help from the European foreign mission societies. The allotments, totalling only \$4,040 from 1856 to 1867, occasioned interesting comments on the state of the diocese. In response to the plea of Bishop Loughlin for help for his orphanage and new schools, the French Society for the Propagation of the Faith sent him 8,000 francs in 1857 and 6,000 in 1859.⁴² In 1867 he appealed for funds for his students in

European seminaries and the society allotted 3,000 francs, paying nearly half of it to the rector of the American College at Louvain.⁴³

Efforts were also made to enlist the assistance of the German mission societies for the struggling German churches in the young diocese. Father Bonaventure Keller, O.F.M., penned the first appeal, sending two letters on November 30, 1855.⁴⁴ One, to the Ludwig Missionsverein, stated that Bishop Loughlin had repeatedly asked him to appeal for the Bavarian Catholics who were without German-speaking priests and whose churches were in danger of sale for debt. His second letter, to the archbishop of Munich, stated that although Bishop Loughlin had a church debt of \$140,000, he needed more churches. It concluded, "If he cannot meet the interest his churches will be sold. It is terrible to be a bishop in America." Father Raffener countersigned both letters, and Bishop Loughlin, the first.⁴⁵

Keller again wrote the society on March 12, 1856, substantially as before. In the past two years he had seen the erection of five German churches for people who were as sheep without a shepherd, but because of debt the success of the churches was doubtful. On April 1, 1857, he wrote to the archbishop of Munich-Freising that he had started a seminary with the sanction of the bishop; that its only support was two small parishes he had begun; that he had more poor students than he could care for; and that he had no money to build.

The first grant from the society came, however, in response to a letter which Father Joseph Huber wrote to the Ludwig Missionsverein on November 11, 1858, in which he asked help for three parishes he was obliged to care for in the absence of other German priests. He needed \$12,000 as well as vestments and furnishings for church and school. He was assigned 600 gulden or \$240 on December 23, 1858.⁴⁶ Bishop Loughlin himself wrote for aid on August 25, 1859, stating that each of his 25 churches was in debt and that he needed money especially for his seminarians and orphans. "Almost every church," he stated, "has a school, which is very necessary, for the children are weaned away from their religion in the public schools." In June, 1860, he was sent 1,000 gulden.⁴⁷ Other Brooklyn beneficiaries of the Ludwig Missionsverein were

the Sisters of St. Dominic, who, between the years 1853-1869, received the sum of nearly \$12,000, and the Sisters of the Poor of St. Francis, who received help through the intercession of their Cincinnati motherhouse.⁴⁸

The appeals had brought little help. In addition, the Civil War occasioned a further crisis, so Huber wrote with Bishop Loughlin's approbation to the Leopoldine Society of Vienna on September 11, 1864. He stated that want of a seminary caused the bishop deep concern; and that he needed gold to pay for his students at Rome and Louvain, for his meagre income in paper money was almost worthless.⁴⁹ However, apart from the gift of 1867, no record has been discovered of any help sent directly from Vienna.

The financing of churches and, especially, of schools was a problem more acute then than now. Poverty, debt, and high rates of interest thwarted progress. For example, it took the parish of St. Paul, one of the most flourishing in America, 49 years to emerge from debt after paying in interest charges two or three times the amount of the borrowed money.⁵⁰ The church, debt-free, was consecrated in May, 1888, the first in the diocese.

The Irish brought with them the tradition of church support and, as usual, the poor gave more generously in proportion to their means than the rich. Collections, ordinary and special, and the renting of pews—then a general custom—failed to provide all the needed funds. Extraordinary means were therefore resorted to for parish maintenance and expansion, for the poor and orphaned, and for diocesan institutions and religious communities. Lectures, sometimes in conjunction with musical vespers, musicales, and grand and sacred concerts, brought occasional income. Such affairs had a good press, religious and secular, and some cultural as well as social and financial benefits resulted. The lecturers, some of them famous in America and abroad, covered a wide range of topics, including education, science, music, literature, painting, history, astronomy, social reform, Scripture, philosophy, theology, apologetics, and the tragedies and glories of Ireland. The discourses were given in churches, parish halls, and such fashionable places of assemblage as Brooklyn Institute, the Athenaeum, and the Academy of Music. Admission ranged from 25 cents to a dollar, and "handsome sums" were realized. "Large and respectable

concourses" attended. Lectures began at 7 or 7:30 P.M. and the listeners were home abed by 11 o'clock.

Ladies' fairs, sometimes of three weeks' duration, and "calico balls" were other popular ways of raising funds. Parish and society picnics to groves and parks, boat excursions, and May festivals were attended by thousands, and naive accounts remain of some. But abuses began to creep in, until in 1884 the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore decreed that such affairs should be stopped or better controlled. In fact, the first (1879) and the second (1877) synods of Brooklyn forbade round dances, fairs, picnics, excursions, and soirées without express permission of the ordinary.⁵¹ Dedications, blessings, cornerstone layings, and the openings of schools and churches were recurring affairs at which societies assembled with massed banners and music, to hear celebrated speakers and to marvel that against such obstacles and in so few years the Church had grown so great.

To be noted, also, were the numerous, if more or less ephemeral, efforts of societies formed under such names as lyceums, literary societies, and library associations, to develop the intellectual powers or promote the cultural interests of young men and women. As might be expected, seasons of activity alternated with periods of dullness. Such groups were popular in the days when free public libraries and museums were non-existent and schooling was brief. Nearly all the parishes had library associations which supplied reading material for Sunday school children and adults. Some of the parishes organized lectures for the general public. With the library went also a reading room where books and Catholic reviews and magazines, European and American, were sometimes available. In 1857 the Assumption library had \$400 cash on hand and in six months had loaned 1,520 books to Sunday school pupils and to poor servant-girls.⁵² Even small country missions without resident pastors, like St. Mary's in Manhasset during the early 1870's, had parish libraries.

The Catholic Library Association opened a large central library in the Washington Building at Court and Joralemon Streets in November, 1859. Annual subscription was \$2.00 and life members paid \$25.00. The association sponsored public lectures by notables at the Athenaeum and the Academy.⁵³ Reading circles, among

them the Fenelon Reading Circle organized at St. Peter's in 1889 for young women, with 38 members from a half-dozen parishes, became popular.⁵⁴ Literary and debating unions or associations also developed from parish libraries. The Eccleston Literary Association, founded in February, 1854, at SS. Peter and Paul's, was an ambitious early attempt. It met weekly for mutual improvement. Its public debates, to which ladies might come, revealed talent and a Catholic spirit that "contrasted favorably with the irreligion of the day."⁵⁵ The St. Charles Institute was established in November of that year by Charles Constantine Pise "for the intellectual improvement of its members by means of Debates, Discussions, Essays, etc." The proceeds of its lecture courses were devoted to benevolent purposes.⁵⁶ Assumption parish began an Emmet Literary Association for lectures on May 10, 1857,⁵⁷ and some years later, St. Peter's formed the flourishing St. Peter's Literary Union.⁵⁸ In 1883 there were 15 young men's literary associations with about 1,500 members who held inter-parish debates on current topics.⁵⁹ There were also by then a number of parish dramatic societies and a Catholic Dramatic Union.⁶⁰ They crusaded against the display of suggestive pictures in shops and the performance of plays on Good Friday.

An early attempt was made to unite the various Catholic men's organizations of the diocese. It was given impetus by papal pleas to the laity to organize and unite against the enemies of the Church. The movement came to be called the Diocesan or Catholic Young Men's Union and it grew to a membership of 4,000 men 35 years of age or younger. It affiliated with the National Union about 1875.⁶¹

In addition to the mutual aid programs of the abstinence and temperance societies there were other benevolent, fraternal, and social organizations that answered some needs and aspirations of the times and functioned on a parochial, diocesan, and national scale. In 1858 Father Keegan reorganized the Guild of the Confraternity of the Holy Cross at Assumption parish to maintain a religious library for children and adults and to provide sick benefits of \$4.00 weekly, night watchers for the sick, if prescribed by a physician, and a \$30 death benefit. Dues were 30 cents

monthly; 10 cents was levied quarterly for the library and 12½ cents upon each death.⁶²

The St. James' Roman Catholic Benevolent Society, organized in May, 1863, offered similar sickness and death benefits. It had a large membership and lasted many years. Father John F. Turner, vicar general, its president, declared its object to be:

. . . to help the laboring members of the society in their needs and to stimulate among them the practice of Catholic duties. The chances of steady employment in large cities like Brooklyn are so changeful, and sickness and helplessness so frequent with the moderately poor, that an organization of this kind, holding out such advantages, should be deemed a great blessing to the Catholic community.⁶³

The Ancient Order of Hibernians came from Ireland in 1836, but the organization was under a cloud in the province of New York until May, 1886, after which its members were admitted to the sacraments. By 1891 it had 37 benevolent branches in Brooklyn.⁶⁴ Two other insurance organizations also had some Brooklyn members—the Catholic Order of Foresters, founded in 1864, and the Catholic Knights of America, founded in 1877, and organized in Brooklyn in 1886.⁶⁵

The Catholic Benevolent Legion was begun with eight members in Brooklyn on September 5, 1881, to secure insurance benefits generally obtainable at that time only by membership in forbidden societies. It offered material and spiritual aid to sick and distressed members and aimed also at social and intellectual improvement. Bishop Loughlin was the spiritual director. The organization grew very quickly, and by 1891 it was represented in nearly every parish in Kings and Queens, had spread to six states, and numbered 36,700 members. Its proposal in 1885 to establish a Catholic Institute for business and social purposes near City Hall failed to materialize. Patterned after the men's organization was the Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Legion, formed in 1890.⁶⁶

The Knights of Columbus, established in Connecticut in 1882, came to Brooklyn on November 4, 1891, when some 30 charter members instituted the first New York State Council, Brooklyn Council No. 60, at Hartung's Hall, Fifth Avenue and 19th Street.⁶⁷

Parish lyceums, which were principally athletic clubs for young men, gradually became more popular than the library and literary

associations, for the great age of oratory was being superseded by the great age of American athletics. The best known were those at St. James', St. Peter's, Assumption, Our Lady of Lourdes, and Sacred Heart. They engaged in inter-parish contests. More social in character was the Columbian Club, begun by parishioners of St. Augustine's in 1881.⁶⁸

Despite poverty and opposition, the Faithful remained loyal to the Church. No parish became bankrupt. The sacrifices of Catholics for their institutions, schools, and churches, their attachment to the Faith, and their opposition to religious liberalism, secularism in education, and divorce opened the eyes of observers. Some Catholics strayed away but a number of converts, lowly and great, returned to the Faith of their fathers. As socialism, materialism, and secularism darkened the skies, the American Catholic body remained free of heresy, and, in general, sound in its family life, obedient to its leaders, and appreciative of the Republic's true principles. Indeed, as Catholics grew more numerous and influential, the value of their contributions to the community as a whole became more widely recognized. When life and society became more complex, greater specialization and organization were apparent in the manifestations of Catholic life. As the decades passed, the children of the parish founders began to move away but their places were quickly filled by other Catholic people from other lands. The newcomers fell easily into the pattern of Catholic life fashioned for them by the pioneers.

Upon his arrival in Brooklyn, Bishop Loughlin found a diocesan burial ground at hand in Holy Cross Cemetery. He blessed its mortuary chapel of the Resurrection on June 10, 1855, assisted by many of the Faithful who had come in stages from all the churches that morning.⁶⁹ The catacombs under the chapel and the graves around it received the remains of many pioneer priests and religious. Loughlin enlarged the cemetery in 1857 and 1869, increasing its size from 19 to 60 acres, for as the City of the Living grew in size so did the City of the Dead. In 1873 alone there were 3,500 burials and by 1891 over 200,000 burials had been made. It was evident, then, that despite the additions and the existing parish cemeteries, another cemetery would soon be needed. Accordingly, in 1879, 163 acres were purchased near the geographical

center of Queens County in Middle Village. It was blessed as St. John's Cemetery on November 27, 1881.⁷⁰

Eulogies were customary at Masses of Requiem, the bishop himself delivering many for the young and humble, as well as for the great and wealthy.⁷¹ Extraordinary corteges were sometimes seen, as, for example, one of over 200 carriages extending over a mile in length, and still another reported to have had over 400.⁷²

The Catholic press, which reported the remarkable growth of the period, itself shared in that growth.⁷³ New York maintained its eminence in Catholic letters and Catholic Brooklyn contributed to it. The Catholic press was supplemented by journals not strictly religious but political and social, edited by Irish-Americans and read by many of Irish birth or descent. One such paper was the *Truth Teller*, which William Denman, its founder, who died in Brooklyn, sold to the *Irish American*, with which it was merged in 1855. The latter paper was founded in 1849 by Patrick Lynch. After Lynch's death in Brooklyn in 1857, his stepson, P. J. Meehan, edited the paper until his own death in Jersey City in 1906. Meehan's son, Thomas F., a Brooklynite, began writing for the New York *Herald* and *Sun*, the *Brooklyn Citizen*, and Catholic papers in the 1880's. Thomas D'Arcy McGee's *American Celt* succeeded his *Nation* in 1853. Sadlier bought the *Celt* in 1857 and called it the *New York Tablet*. It lasted until 1893 under various editors. Orestes Brownson, who conducted his own *Quarterly*, 1844-1864, 1873-1875, and Laurence Kehoe, who died a Brooklynite in 1890, were associated with Sadlier's publication. Kehoe published the *Catholic World*, begun in 1865 by Father Isaac T. Hecker, C.S.P., and he managed another Hecker project, the Catholic Publishing Society, which circulated millions of Catholic pamphlets. Patrick J. Ford, who established the *Irish World* in New York, lived in Brooklyn and died there in 1913.⁷⁴ After Archbishop Hughes sold the *Freeman's Journal* to McMaster in 1848, the prelate secured the *Metropolitan Record* as the official organ of the archdiocese.

The *Freeman's Journal* remained the most widely read Catholic paper in the metropolitan area and in the nation. In a day of personal and sometimes savage journalism, James McMaster was supreme. He offended Hughes and never understood the Irish.

He was a loyal Unionist but an ardent defender also of State rights, and he soon became embroiled in politics. Politicians vainly tried to buy his pen. He criticized the government so severely that his paper was banned from the mails from August 29, 1861, to April 19, 1862, and he was imprisoned for a while in Fort Lafayette in New York harbor on no preferred charges. When released, he resumed publication and attacked Lincoln and the abolitionists with abuse and undignified invective. On the other hand, never had the parish school a more indefatigable champion than McMaster. After 1870 he mellowed and wrote chiefly on religious topics. He was assisted by Marc F. Vallette from 1874 to 1880 and by Maurice Francis Egan from 1881 to 1888. All three men spent their last years in Brooklyn.⁷⁵ McMaster, a man of deep faith, died on December 29, 1886. Father Thomas Taaffe sang his Requiem at St. Patrick's, Kent Avenue, in the presence of Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop Loughlin.⁷⁶

The last New York paper of the period was the *Catholic News*, begun by Herman Ridder on November 17, 1886. It added a Brooklyn section in May, 1887. John Gilmary Shea was the editor from June 30, 1889, to his death on February 22, 1892. Vallette contributed for sometime thereafter, as did Meehan.

The Catholic literary tradition, brought to Brooklyn by Fathers Schneller and Pise, flourished under clerical and lay writers, editors and publishers, and it was not long before Brooklyn began having Catholic papers of its own.⁷⁷

Brooklyn's first Catholic paper, the *Brooklyn Catholic*, appeared on February 20, 1869, as a four-page weekly edited by Fathers Edward G. Fitzpatrick and Thomas J. Gardiner.⁷⁸ The fact that Gardiner, editor and proprietor, lived in the same house as Bishop Loughlin would seem to indicate the latter's interest in the project. Gardiner wrote in salutatory, "We shall regard Brooklyn alone as our field to work in, and all the ends we aim at shall be to enlighten our own people, to lead them to the knowledge of their religion and to the practices of the virtues which their religion inculcates." It was soon "on the highroad to success," with a circulation of 10,000 and was "in daily receipt of congratulatory letters from all parts." ⁷⁹ The paper was enlarged and the annual

subscription fixed at \$4.00. It successfully controverted the *Brooklyn Eagle* and the *New York Times*.⁸⁰

Then followed a strange and tragic sequence. Father Fitzpatrick withdrew from the paper on April 30, 1870, and started another, the *Brooklyn Weekly Register*. It was published by John Lane & Co., 266 Washington Street, for six cents. Its first issue criticized state appropriations for some Catholic institutions and it opposed gifts of money to the Pope.⁸¹ The Catholic school advertising, with which it began, quickly disappeared from its pages. The *New York Tablet* of June 11, 1870, noted its "pugnacious attitude towards other Catholic organs" and hoped "if it must be pugnacious that it fight Protestantism, rationalism, infidelity, vice and immorality." The *Register* was suppressed after its ninth number as too "liberal" and "disrespectful." The *Brooklyn Catholic* carried "A Panegyric on the Defunct Schismatic Journal." Within two years Fitzpatrick died, but Gardiner had preceded him to the grave by four months, and the *Brooklyn Catholic* died with him in 1871. It was an excellent paper and a valuable source for the history of the local Church during the few months of its publication.

The lament over the *Brooklyn Catholic* had hardly ceased when the *Catholic Review* made its appearance and proved a worthy successor for nearly a generation. Patrick V. Hickey⁸² was its editor and publisher. Hickey's ambitions and confidence appear in his letter written to Maria, his sister in Dublin, on December 22, 1866, soon after he came to New York:

My darling project however, is to start an illustrated periodical, to supplant the abominable, cheap literature that now floods the market. From the pages will be excluded everything containing the slightest tinge of immorality. It will be printed on the best paper, with the best type. The best artists, writers, etc., will be employed. . . . I will enter on this undertaking not merely as a speculation that will make me a wealthy man . . . but also with, I trust, a higher motive. I don't intend to make it purely Catholic except in bias and by insinuation as that would deprive me of a large number of readers whom I intend to influence. Yet I shall obtain for it the approbation and support of the highest ecclesiastic authority. . . . If I can succeed in accomplishing this idea, I shall regard my life as well spent.⁸³

After six years' experience with the *New York World* he began

his *Catholic Review*, June 8, 1872, as "a weekly newspaper suitable for Sunday reading in Catholic families," declaring that "the Catholics of Brooklyn have projected this journal . . . in the cause of the Church and for the benefit of their fellow citizens." Subscription was \$3.00 yearly. Bishop Loughlin encouraged the journal and it was well received by Catholic and secular papers.⁸⁴ Its urbanity was an innovation in the field of Catholic journalism which hitherto had appealed to Irish sentiment or to violent political or theological polemics. Yet the *Review* was a fearless and tireless crusader.

In 1875 Hickey began to issue reprints of Catholic literary classics under the title of the Vatican Library.⁸⁵ Thus, for example, Newman's *Fabiola* could be purchased for 25 cents. He published the first illustrated Catholic American paper, the weekly *Illustrated Catholic American* in 1880;⁸⁶ the *Catholic American* in 1888; and, in the next year, a Brooklyn edition of the latter and the *Holy Family Magazine*.

Pius IX made Hickey a Knight of St. Sylvester and in 1884 Leo XIII made him a Knight of St. Gregory. In 1888 he received the Laetare medal from the University of Notre Dame.⁸⁷ He was ready for a Catholic daily when he died on February 21, 1889.⁸⁸ Of him the *Catholic Youth* wrote, "He accomplished more for Catholic literature . . . than any Catholic American layman living or dead; and in the face of difficulties which would force other men to relinquish every effort in despair."⁸⁹ Father John Talbott Smith of New York conducted the paper thereafter.⁹⁰

Meanwhile, two other short-lived Brooklyn Catholic papers appeared. The monthly *Catholic Examiner* was begun in July, 1882, by Edward Feeney with John Fitzgerald as editor at 9 Henry Street. Fathers James H. Mitchell, Thomas F. Ward, and James S. Duffy actively supported it. It was issued as an eight-page weekly selling for five cents on October 6, 1883. Two years later it failed. Then a company of 18 priests and 10 laymen, with Fitzgerald as editor and Father Edward W. McCarty as president, revived it in January, 1886, as the *Brooklyn Examiner*, with offices at Front and Fulton Streets. Eighteen months later, Fitzgerald retired and was succeeded by Thomas Preston of the New York *Herald*, a Brooklynite and nephew of Monsignor Thomas Preston, vicar general

of the archdiocese of New York. The paper was very attractive and contained a number of valuable local historical contributions. Unfortunately, the journal began to support Father Edward McGlynn and Henry George in the single-tax agitation of the 1880's, the priests sold out their interests, and in 1887 it failed.⁹¹

The *Leader*, another Catholic paper, briefly followed. It was published at 155 Nassau Street in 1890, and from 1891 to 1893, when it ceased, at 245 Washington Street. John J. McGinnis, who left the editorship of the *Catholic News* in June, 1889, was editor and H. J. Hoare, manager.⁹²

To provide suitable reading for youngsters, Father Edward J. McCabe became editor-proprietor of the *Catholic Youth* in October, 1881. The magazine was published both as a weekly and a monthly from 1886 to 1892 at 96 Broadway, Brooklyn. Its combined circulation was 6,500.⁹³ Still another monthly, entitled *The Gael*, was published in Brooklyn from 1881-1904. It was a literary and cultural bilingual magazine.

The German Catholics were not far behind their diocesan brethren in Catholic newspaper publishing. John Meserole conducted a Catholic weekly under the title *Der Apologet* in the Eastern District from June, 1861, to February, 1862.⁹⁴ A more successful publication was the *Katholische Kirchen Zeitung* by John James Maximilian Oertel, a former Lutheran minister. He began the paper in Baltimore in 1846 and edited it from Jamaica, Long Island, from 1866 until his death in 1882. It was as influential among German Catholics as the *Freeman's Journal* was among the Irish.⁹⁵

The German Catholics of Holy Trinity parish began the daily *Brooklyner Presse* sometime in 1869. Fathers Michael May and Peter Dauffenbach approved the project and many parishioners invested in it. Unfortunately, as Father Michael May wrote, "It began with great promise but did not find proper support. It dragged out for three years a miserable existence and then collapsed, so that anyone who has had anything to do with it bitterly regretted the venture."⁹⁶ Another unsuccessful attempt, the *Brooklyner Zeitung*, was begun in the same parish under the direction of Messrs. Huberty, Koeune, Zoll, Hegen, and Hoenigshausen. After two years the dissatisfied stockholders sold the paper

to the *Freie Presse* and it was consolidated as the *Freie Presse und Brooklyner Zeitung*, but by that time it was no longer Catholic.⁹⁷

The Catholic press and its Brooklyn craftsmen gave invaluable assistance in explaining and defending the Faith and promoting the sale and reading of Catholic books, as well as reporting domestic and foreign news. They also ranged themselves on the side of public order and the best interests of the nation. But the Sunday editions of the daily press, begun after the Civil War, cut heavily into the weeklies written for Sunday consumption. The Catholic journals were also hampered by the apathy of the general Catholic body and they made little profit.⁹⁸ Gradually the wealth and popularity of the secular press captured the best lay-writers, and the Catholic press passed to the clergy. This seems a better explanation than that offered by the *Independent*, an actively anti-Catholic newspaper, which did not miss the opportunity to say that Catholic literature was not better supported because of "general lack of education amongst the adherents of the Latin Church in this country."⁹⁹

Two Catholic novelists of the period deserve mention. Jedediah V. Huntington, Brooklyn physician and Episcopalian minister who entered the Church in 1850, was the author of several novels, the most successful of which, *Rosemary*, a satire on the morals of fashionable society, was set in Brooklyn about 1858.¹⁰⁰ A decade later, Colonel James F. Meline, Civil War veteran and novelist, ably refuted Froude in his *Mary Queen of Scots and Her Latest Historians*.¹⁰¹

Some Brooklynites shared in the local Catholic historical research that began in this period. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan (1804-1880), physician, publicist, and historian, whose monumental translations of the earliest Colonial documents placed the early historiography of the state and city of New York in his debt, lived in Brooklyn for a few years.¹⁰² *A Brief Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church on Long Island* by Patrick Mulrenan was the first-known attempt by a Brooklynite to write a history of the diocese. It was published by P. O'Shea in New York in 1871. It cited no sources, abounded in pious reflections and exhortations, and is of little historical value.¹⁰³ John O'Kane

Murray was the author of a more ambitious work in a somewhat grandiloquent style, entitled *A Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. It appeared in May, 1876, and a fifth revised edition running to 648 pages was published by Sadlier in New York in 1877. It was popular in its day and despite some inaccuracies it has useful appendices and references to sources; some of which have since been lost.¹⁰⁴ The last formal work of the period dealing with Brooklyn's Catholic history was a memorial entitled *The Golden Jubilee of Rt. Rev. John Loughlin, D.D., First Bishop of Brooklyn* by the Reverend James H. Mitchell (Brooklyn, 1891). Its 338 pages described the celebration of Bishop Loughlin's golden sacerdotal jubilee. The 44 introductory pages of the volume dealt, somewhat inaccurately, with earlier history. Marc F. Vallette and Thomas F. Meehan had already begun writing articles on Brooklyn's Catholic history. Their work would flower in the following years.

THE RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF THE CLERGY

FACED WITH THE NEED OF PROVIDING for the spiritual welfare of a constantly increasing flock, Bishop Loughlin's first care was to foster native vocations to the priesthood, and, more immediately, to secure priests from abroad. This double preoccupation was felt especially in his early years and it lasted during his entire administration. This was not the concern of Loughlin alone, however, since all Catholics in the United States realized the scarcity of priests throughout the nation.¹ In fact, the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1858 successfully petitioned Pope Pius IX to indulge the prayer, "Queen of Apostles, conceived without original stain, pray the Lord of the Harvest to send laborers to His harvest."

Loughlin had few German-speaking priests at first, and his need for English-speaking priests compelled him to advance the ordination dates of some, as he wrote to Dr. Bartholomew Woodlock of All Hallows College, Ireland. In the same strain he wrote to Father Joseph P. Dubreul, S.S., superior of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, stating that while he preferred a longer seminary course, he could not spare a man for it.² Military duty of foreign-born students accepted for the diocese,³ abandonment of studies by others, and death further hampered his efforts. From his nine students, who were ordained from the North American College in Rome during the 1860's, the diocese received less than 84 years of priestly service.⁴ Despite his annual collection for the seminary, the bishop also had an acute struggle to finance the education of

his seminarians, most of whom were poor. During the Civil War, moreover, American paper money so depreciated that he was obliged to pay in gold for students studying abroad.⁵ An annual collection helped to furnish some funds for the support of his seminarians.⁶

Nevertheless, from 1854 to 1859 inclusive, Loughlin managed to secure 11 priests. One was born in Germany, the others in Ireland. Four came from American seminaries, the others from foreign schools. Among the native vocations were some Irish-born youths who had come to Brooklyn with a smattering of learning acquired from Irish classical masters. Every 15 or 20 miles one of these could be found teaching boys boarding at nearby farms. Whenever possible, promising candidates were sent to the various colleges and seminaries, and worthy seminarians who volunteered from abroad were accepted by the bishop; but not until the 1870's were St. John's and St. Francis colleges in a position to prepare men for the seminary. Not until the close of his administration was Loughlin able to erect his own seminary.

Some early hope was engendered by the preparatory seminary begun by Father Bonaventure Keller, O.S.F., in 1856 in the building later known as St. Francis in the Fields. Father John Raffener, the vicar general, had erected this structure on Putnam Avenue in 1850.⁸ Knowledge of this early episode concerning clerical education in Brooklyn comes from two sources.⁹ The first is a letter written, as was observed, by Father Keller on April 1, 1857, as pastor of the parish to Archbishop Scherr, president of the Ludwig Missionsverein. In it he stated:

December 8, of last year on the feast of the Immaculate Conception I opened a seminary on the advice of Vicar General Raffener and with the approval of the Bishop. This seminary was to be in particular for the training of German boys as you may see from my *Program*. . . .

Vicar General Raffener gave us the house and the grounds worth about 8,000 florins, therefore I can't ask him for any more. Our Most Rev. Bishop has a new diocese founded only four years ago and has many expenses. It would be unjust for me to add to his worries of building and maintaining churches and orphanages by asking him to help here. Yet if I don't get help I must send back to the world many young men because I have no room for them unless I can build. . . .

I have not received a penny for this foundation from any source ex-

cept from the income of two poor parishes which I began myself. One is so poor that the church was built from a loan and nearly had to be sold again to the Protestants because it could not raise the interest. My whole income is \$500 a year, \$200 of which I must pay my two assistants and a secular teacher until the four candidates have finished their course in Rome and return here as *Patres*. Most of our students are poor; therefore, I can't appeal to their parents. . . . I must keep gratis many a boy. . . .

The prospectus he enclosed stated that the boys were from 10 to 15 years of age and that he aimed to impart a good classical, scientific, and religious education. He charged only \$15 for quarterly board and tuition. Bedding, laundry, books, medical attention, music, and drawing were extra charges. Only the fact that the professors belonged to the order permitted so low a price. He went on to say:

The Course of Study is similar to that of the German Gymnasium or High School, namely: Religion and Church History, Latin, German, English, French, Mathematics, higher and lower History, Geography, Nature Study and Physics, Penmanship, Vocal Music.

In the next year there was printed at Würzburg under date of February 19, 1858, a memorial about the seminary. It was signed by "Friedrich August Franz O'Byrne, Theol. Cand." O'Byrne also asked help for this preparatory seminary, declaring that the fees of \$160 to \$200 asked by the Jesuits, Christian Brothers, and others prevented poor German boys from attending the English-speaking colleges. As a consequence there was a dearth of German-speaking priests. He added:

Of course \$60.00 would not cover the cost of running the Institution with three professors each of whom is to receive \$20.00 monthly. But our Missionary with confidence in God and the Seraphic Father St. Francis, hopes for aid in his work from the three parishes he has begun in conjunction with the Count of Perigny, a former Abbot of an Irish Monastery, and the Reverend Aloysius Enders a secular priest from the Diocese of Munich-Freysing. . . . The writer has experienced all that he notes here, having lived with Fr. Bonaventura for 15 months. From 12 pupils the register of the seminary has rapidly grown to 40 and it must refuse applicants for lack of room.¹⁰

The school was the first preparatory seminary in New York State, but it lasted only two years and closed in 1858.¹¹ Distance

and lack of teachers were alleged as the reasons for its closing, and, we may add, lack of money. Thereafter, the mission was attended from Holy Trinity until 1861 when it was closed. In 1866 it was reopened and served until 1888. Father John J. Raber was the only pupil of the school whose name is known.¹²

What other efforts Bishop Loughlin made to secure seminarians and priests can only be surmised. However, fairly accurate information remains about the seminaries, domestic and foreign, that his priests came from, the dates of their ordination, and the length and nature of their ministry.¹³

St. Joseph's Seminary at Fordham was the nearest of the American seminaries which prepared priests for the diocese of Brooklyn. During the period, however, only two priests were ordained from it.¹⁴ The seminary had a troubled career. It was administered by diocesan priests at first and they were succeeded by the Society of Jesus. In 1856 Archbishop Hughes withdrew it from the Jesuits¹⁵ and again entrusted it to his diocesan priests, some of whom were pastors. It was closed finally in 1862.¹⁶ The provincial seminary at Troy was next opened in October, 1864, with a faculty of Belgian diocesan priests. Six of the nine sees of the province of New York used it. But Brooklyn declined to enter the compact,¹⁷ and Bishop John Timon, C.M., of Buffalo, preferred it at Albany or New York.¹⁸ Loughlin wrote to Bishop Francis P. MacFarland of Hartford on October 15, 1864: ". . . the expense of fitting up and carrying on the establishment is what I would fear. I am sorry it was commenced, as I wish to join in any good work that is intended for the good of religion in the Province."¹⁹ Bishop Loughlin preferred a congregation of religious for his seminarians²⁰ and he sent no students there.

St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, the oldest seminary in the United States, sent Brooklyn its second greatest number of priests. The Sulpician training doubtless impressed the bishop, who had spent his last year of theology there. All told, from 1857 to 1891 inclusive, 53 priests left St. Mary's to labor in Brooklyn.²¹

Mount St. Mary's at Emmitsburg sent 15 priests to the diocese from 1865 to 1891.²² It is surprising that Bishop Loughlin did not send more students there where he had spent the years 1834 to 1839 as a collegian and a seminarian. Possibly his own motive in

changing from Mount St. Mary's to Baltimore influenced his decision. Yet he remained loyal to his *alma mater* and when the institution was threatened with bankruptcy in 1881, he raised funds for it.²³ Moreover, when the president of the institution, Father John McCloskey, died in 1881, Loughlin allowed Father John J. Hill, who had been a professor there from 1872-1877 and had become pastor of Transfiguration parish, Brooklyn, to leave the diocese and assume the presidency of the school. The hierarchy hoped that Hill could save the situation, but Hill found the situation worse than represented because of even greater indebtedness, hitherto unsuspected. He sought legal advice, suggested that a receiver be appointed, and returned to Brooklyn to become the highly esteemed pastor of St. Paul's parish. He had decided that "no one who occupied a prominent position in the college before its suspension should take a conspicuous part in its restoration," lest suspicion arise that part of the college debt was to be repudiated.²⁴ In further proof of Loughlin's affection for his old school, he also adopted into the diocese, throughout the years, some of its former professors.²⁵

From 1862 to 1891 the Seminary of Our Lady of Angels at Niagara Falls sent 62 priests to Brooklyn, a greater number than any other seminary.²⁶ This preponderance is one of several facts illustrating Bishop Loughlin's liking for the Vincentians. This seminary was helped in its early days by the intervention of a Brooklyn priest and the cooperation of Bishop Loughlin. Father John Lynch, C.M.,²⁷ began the seminary at Buffalo in 1855. He relocated it in 1857 at Suspension Bridge, but lack of funds and his nearly fatal illness threatened the project. Providentially, at that moment, in January, 1858, Father Edward Maginnis,²⁸ with a great Long Island missionary record behind him, called on Bishop John Timon, C.M., of Buffalo and asked where he might give \$10,000. He had withdrawn the money from a mortgage he had held on a Brooklyn church, a transaction sanctioned by Bishop Loughlin. Timon directed him to the seminary, and the institution was saved. Maginnis then became a member of the seminary faculty and died there in 1861.

Students from Brooklyn also made their courses at St. Vincent's Archabbey at Beatty, Pennsylvania, which had been founded by

Dom Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B. Eleven priests came to Brooklyn from that seminary between the years 1859 and 1891.²⁹

The bishop also availed himself of the Sulpician seminary at Montreal from which, during the period, 28 priests came to Brooklyn, beginning with three in the first year, 1870. Thus the Baltimore and Montreal Sulpicians trained 81 priests for the diocese, 19 more than the Vincentians had.

Bishop Loughlin turned early to the Irish colleges and seminaries for recruits. From them, however, he secured only a relatively small number of priests. From All Hallows College, Dublin, a total of 21 came.³⁰ From St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, 10 priests came, two of whom arrived immediately after ordination.³¹ The other eight came after some years of priestly service elsewhere.

Seminaries on the Continent also furnished some of Brooklyn's clergy. From the American College at Louvain two seem to have come,³² while others came from Italian seminaries.

Although he was preoccupied with his own financial problems, Loughlin lent willing ear to Pius IX's proposal to establish the North American College at Rome. Despite the fulminations of the *Star* of February 9, 1856, which bitterly resented such an institution, the bishop agreed to send two students and to share the expenses of fitting it up.³³ He did not know whom to recommend as its rector, and when Archbishop Hughes selected a professor from Mount St. Mary's, namely, Brooklyn-born William George McCloskey, for the rectorship, the bishop of Brooklyn acquiesced in the decision.³⁴

Opened on December 8, 1859, the college has fostered unity between the See of Peter and the Church in the United States and has preserved and propagated Roman traditions. Its first rector, Father McCloskey, became later the bishop of Louisville, 1868-1909. By the year 1891, 15 priests had come from that seminary to Brooklyn.³⁵ Toward the end of his administration four students were sent also to the Propaganda in Rome and all were ordained,³⁶ as were a like number whom Loughlin sent to the Collegio Brignole-Sale in Genoa.³⁷

Finally, in the evening of his life Bishop Loughlin's fondest hope, that had been with him since the beginning of his admin-

istration—a seminary of his own conducted by the Vincentians—was realized (although the wisdom of choosing the already well-populated site was beginning to be questioned³⁸). Father Michael May, the vicar general, headed the committee of priests who planned its opening for the bishop's sacerdotal golden jubilee.³⁹ The bishop laid the cornerstone of the Seminary of St. John the Baptist on September 8, 1889.⁴⁰ The L-shaped Romanesque brick building adjoined the college and extended 60 feet on Lewis Avenue and 180 feet on Hart Street. It was five stories and basement, had rooms for 80 persons, and cost \$100,000.⁴¹ It was opened on September 21, 1891. The faculty was composed of the following Vincentian Fathers: Jeremiah A. Hartnett, rector, Robert A. Lennon, director, Thomas M. O'Donoughue, Edward A. Antill, Theodore B. McCormick, and Ferdinand McCauley. The bishop inaugurated the seminary's career by taking supper with the Fathers and the 52 students on the opening night.⁴²

A few characteristics of the clergy of the period remain to be recalled. Less than a century ago priests were still referred to in America as "Mr." and "Rev. Mr.," as they had been called for safety's sake in days of penal legislation.⁴³ In 1825 all clergy wore white cravats like ministers. In the 1850's black cravats and white shirt fronts were general. They were succeeded in the 1870's by white collar and shirt and black bow tie. Silk top hats were commonly worn well past the 19th century.⁴⁴ The Roman collar was not generally worn until it was made obligatory by the Third Plenary Council in 1884. Bishop Loughlin had recommended it at the closing of the retreat on September 1, 1883,⁴⁵ and the synod of 1887 prescribed it.⁴⁶

Life was simpler then, whether in the city's teeming parishes or in the suburbs and country about which the pastor rode on horseback or in a gig to visit his neighbors and make his calls. Unless he lived in a large city parish, a priest's living was, for many years, somewhat uncertain. The situation improved with the synod of 1879 which set pastors' salaries at \$800 and curates' at \$600. Free-will offerings at baptisms and marriages were to maintain the rectory. Any surplus was to be divided equally among pastor and assistants; any deficit was to be equally borne.⁴⁷ The people frequently honored their priests with gifts and testimonials. Adults

were flattered when stopped for a chat, while children curtsied and then ran to tell their mothers.

Bishop Loughlin was generally popular with his priests, although his relations toward them were somewhat formal and at times rather brusque. Some of the priests were as positive as himself and he enjoyed arguing a case with them. Instances in which Loughlin was constrained to invoke ecclesiastical sanctions and penalties were relatively few. His knowledge of ecclesiastical jurisprudence was frequently drawn upon by bishops and, at least in one instance, in refusing a priest permission to cite him before a civil court, he contributed to the clarification of canonical procedure and the strengthening of episcopal authority in America.⁴⁸ With the priests of his own household he lived simply and in friendly fashion. His few close friends were his vicars general and, later, Father Jeremiah Hartnett, C.M. He ordained most of his priests and preached at the Requiems of many.

Loughlin established the Priests' Purgatorial Society in 1876.⁴⁹ Three years later, at the synod of 1879, the bishop exhorted the clergy to form a mutual-aid society to support sick or disabled members, but he seems not to have made it obligatory until 1891 when the Priests Relief Fund for the support of infirm diocesan priests was established at the close of the August retreat.⁵⁰ The annual retreats of the clergy were held in the summer. For some years the orphan asylums were used for the purpose; then St. John's College was used and in August, 1891, the new seminary. Archbishops William H. Elder of Cincinnati and John Ireland of St. Paul and Bishop Stephen V. Ryan, C.M., of Buffalo were among the more famous retreat masters and Bishop Loughlin gave the concluding talk.⁵¹

At the synod of 1879 Loughlin decreed clerical conferences for the study of the divine sciences at a place and time to be determined by himself. Whether the practice of holding such conferences obtained earlier in Brooklyn is not known. The Second Plenary Council of 1866 had enjoined bishops to gather their clergy for theological conferences at least twice yearly to offset the lack of frequent synods.⁵² A life-long student himself, Loughlin wrote in 1868 to Father Joseph P. Dubreul, S.S., of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, that another year could be added to the

seminary curriculum, "as a means of improving the education of the clergy in this country." His limited means, however, and the great need of priests prevented him from leaving a seminarian beyond the usual time—except in unusual cases and, as he said, because "many seem not to have an inclination to study after their ordination."⁵³ In October, 1889, he sent the first clerical student of the diocese to the opening class of the Catholic University of America at Washington.⁵⁴

Despite the brick-and-mortar character of the period, some clerical authors, writers, and translators continued the literary traditions of Charles Constantine Pise and Joseph A. Schneller. Among them were Anthony Farley, Ignatius A. Zeller, John M. Kiely, Patrick O'Hare, Francis J. Freel, Thomas F. Ward, John Hauptman, Edward J. McCabe, Thomas J. Gardiner, Edward G. Fitzpatrick, James H. Mitchell, and James Donohoe.

Of the 24 priests in the diocese in 1853, one was a religious, a Benedictine. The next few years a few more Benedictines and Franciscan Fathers labored here, but they had no houses of their own in the diocese. The first community of religious priests to make a permanent foundation in Brooklyn were the Vincentians in 1868. They were followed in 1871 by the Fathers of Mercy and in 1844 by the Pallottini Fathers. It was sometimes said of the bishop in his latter days that he had an aversion to male religious orders and especially to the Jesuits who had a summer villa at Fort Hill, Lloyd's Neck, Long Island, from 1870 to 1874, which they had opened without his knowledge.⁵⁵ During 1891 the bishop was assisted by 184 diocesan priests and by 18 religious priests: 12 Vincentians, one Pallottine, and five Fathers of Mercy—who formed nine per cent of the total.⁵⁶

During the last half of the last century clergy and Faithful of Irish birth and descent constituted the bulk of the Church in Brooklyn, while the Germans and German-Americans were the next largest group. The Irish quickly amalgamated with the general population, but the early Germans remained largely aloof. It was said that life in a German parish was "as thoroughly German as if it stood in the heart of Berlin."⁵⁷ Sermons, confessions, and school lessons were in German, and many parishioners could speak no English. Many German Catholics felt, however, that this

penalized them and their children and conflicted with the recent views of the Pope that the parishes conform to the language and customs of the country in which they were situated.

Relations between Irish and German clergy, which were strained in some sections of the Middle West, were always tranquil in Brooklyn. This was probably due not only to the fact that Germans formed but a seventh or eighth of the diocesan population⁵⁸ but also to the character of the pioneer "German bishops," as Raffeiner and May were called, and to the wisdom of Bishop Loughlin who named them in turn vicars general, in addition to his other vicars general. The Brooklyn *Eagle* declared a few years after his death, that the bishop always showed "the utmost consideration for the German portion of his flock and he used to leave almost everything in the hands of Father May, the most popular German priest in the diocese."⁵⁹ The *Eagle* had remarked in similar strain some years earlier that it was "one of the great successes of the truly paternal rule of Bishop Loughlin . . . no more edifying record of harmony and fraternal unity can be found than in the relations of the German Catholics of Brooklyn with their bishops and their brethren in the faith of other races."⁶⁰ There could be no legitimate complaint either of insufficient German representation or of excessive German influence in Brooklyn.

There were 227 priests aggregated to the ranks of the diocesan priesthood between 1854-1891 inclusive. The chart on page 256 shows the theological seminaries from which Bishop Loughlin secured these clerical coadjutors and the dates of their arrival in the diocese.

The 166 entries marked with an asterisk are based on the records of the seminaries. Since there were scarcely a dozen other priests adopted after priestly service elsewhere, the chart reveals a substantially complete picture of Bishop Loughlin's recruitment policy for his diocesan clergy.

The 98 diocesan priests and three religious externs, who also labored in the diocese for brief periods without being incardinated into it, and the religious priests who were stationed at the three religious houses in the diocese, were not considered in this study.

The chart shows how the desperate need of the 1850's and 1860's

Decade	UNITED STATES					CANADA		IRELAND		ITALY			BELGIUM	Total
	St. Joseph's, Fordham	St. Mary's, Baltimore *	Mount St. Mary's *	Our Lady of Angels *	St. Vincent's, Beatty	Grand Seminaire, Montreal		All Hallows *	Maynooth	North American College *	Propaganda	Collegio Brignole- Sale	American College, Louvain	
1854-59	2	1			1			3	3		1			11
1860-69		12	2	7	3			10	1	3			1	39
1870-79		21	9	39	3	15		1	3	5	1			97
1880-89		17	2	16	3	11		5	3	4	1	1	1	64
1890-91		2	2		1	2		2		3	1	3		16
Total	2	53	15	62	11	28		21	10	15	4	4	2	227

was followed by an increase of laborers in the 1870's and 1880's. When the bishop died in 1891 he had 60 seminarians⁶¹ at St. John's in Brooklyn, and others elsewhere. The chart illustrates the fact that the bishop was successful in securing a largely American trained clergy. Of these 227 diocesan priests acquired during his administration, 143, or 63 per cent, studied in the States; and 84, or 37 per cent, studied elsewhere—28, or nearly 12 per cent, at Montreal; 31, or over 13 per cent, in Ireland; 23, or nearly 11 per cent, in Italy; and two, or less than one per cent, in Belgium.

The 184 members of the diocesan clergy whom Bishop Loughlin left behind in 1891, according to the *Catholic Directory* of 1892, while representing more national strains than those he found on his arrival in 1853, were, in the aggregate, much more American both in origin and in theological training. The charts on page 258 demonstrate these facts.⁶²

Of the 184 listed—101, or nearly 55 per cent, studied theology in the United States; 24, or 13 per cent, in Canada; 23, or 12.5 per cent, in Ireland; 13, or 7 per cent, in Italy.

Among the priests of Loughlin's day were the second generation of Long Island missionaries, city pastors, and assistants. Many of them did distinguished work and some of them continued to labor, as well, under the next two episcopal administrations. All but one were dead in 1953 and others were reaping where those who had sowed were forgotten.

Bishop Loughlin was a strong character who took pride in his work and until the end he kept the administration of the diocese largely in his own hands. They were the same capable, tireless hands that had served Archbishop Hughes so well as administrator of St. Patrick's Cathedral and vicar general of the archdiocese of New York. Doubtless upon occasion he consulted the opinions of others, but he made his own decisions and, in the main, the decisions were sound. He had foresight and prudence. During the first decades the problems of administration were relatively simple compared with those of his later years. It was not a day of specialization and the sturdy shoulders of the bishop carried the burden.

Toward the end of Loughlin's life, when his energies flagged, and occasional testiness and crotchets appeared, some criticism

PLACES OF NATIVITY

Brooklyn and Long Island	69
New York City *	13
Elsewhere	9
U.S.A.	2
Canada	69
Ireland	2
Italy	15
Germany	1
Poland	2
France	3
England	11
Unknown	11

* Often before 1898, and with more excuse after, Brooklyn was incorrectly referred to as New York City. Thus 63, or over 34 per cent, were born in Brooklyn; 82, or 44 per cent, in the United States; 66, or nearly 36 per cent, in Ireland; 15, or 8 per cent, in Germany.⁶³

SEMINARIES FROM WHICH ORDAINED

St. Mary's, Baltimore	32
Our Lady of Angels	45
St. Vincent's, Beatty	9
Mount St. Mary's	11
Elsewhere U.S.A.	4
Grand Seminaire, Montreal	22
Elsewhere Canada	2
All Halls, Dublin	18
Elsewhere Ireland	5
England	1
North American College, Rome	8
Elsewhere Italy	5
Germany	5
Austria	5
France	5
Louvain	1
Unknown	11

arose from a disgruntled few and there were rumors of the appointment of a coadjutor. It was true that the decrees of the three Plenary Councils held at Baltimore in 1852, 1866, and 1884 had called for a diocesan curia. The First Council had recommended the appointment of a chancellor. The Second Council urged that notaries be installed in the rudimentary diocesan curias to draw up documents and to take testimonies. It also decreed that diocesan synods be held after each plenary or provincial council, that the clergy attend theological conferences twice yearly, and that diocesan consultors, rural deans, examiners of the clergy, and other officials be appointed. The recommendations of these earlier councils as well as the more elaborate provisions of the council of 1884 for the organization of diocesan administration were applied somewhat tardily and incompletely in Brooklyn, as in other parts of the country; but in Brooklyn, as elsewhere also, the 1880's saw a considerable development of administrative machinery. Undoubtedly, the full diocesan curia which Loughlin formed in response to the urgent mandate of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore was overdue, but many American bishops had been tardy about the matter and despite the delay Loughlin's administration functioned with remarkable smoothness.

Some wrong impressions of Bishop Loughlin's role as administrator of the diocese and chief shepherd of the souls of his people remain to be dissipated. It is commonly said that he never had a secretary and that for years he had no vicar general.⁶⁴ The evidence contradicts both statements. Father Thomas W. McCleary⁶⁵ was his first secretary in 1855 and lived with the bishop in Jay Street. Father John F. Turner succeeded him⁶⁶ and served as secretary until his death in 1877. He was succeeded for a while possibly by Father William Keegan.⁶⁷ Father James H. Mitchell⁶⁸ was the bishop's last secretary. Turner⁶⁹ served also as vicar general from 1860 or 1861 until his death in 1877. Keegan was made vicar general in 1880 on the eve of the bishop's departure to Europe.⁷⁰ Concurrently, except from 1861 to 1875, there was also a vicar general for the Germans. Raffener, appointed by Bishop Hughes, served also in this capacity under Loughlin from 1853 to his death in 1861. Fourteen years later he was succeeded in the office by Father Michael May.⁷¹ The bishop was his own chancellor and used his

own residence for his chancery.⁷² In his absence his vicars general undoubtedly served in that capacity. Father Mitchell acted as chancellor toward the end.⁷³ The bishop did not appoint a board of consultors until the second synod in 1887.

The first synod ⁷⁴ of the diocese of Brooklyn was held in the Church of St. John the Baptist on Friday, August 29, 1879, at the conclusion of the clergy retreat. The bishop offered the Mass of the Holy Ghost and presided at the sessions. Ten synodal officials were designated, including Father William Wayrich, C.S.S.R., serving as moderator and as one of the confessors. The profession of faith was made, the statutes were announced, and the bishop spoke. A brief, concluding afternoon session was held when Loughlin spoke again. The printed account of the proceedings is introduced by a statement that nearly all the statutes were taken from the third synod of New York in 1868, which is not remarkable, it declared, since New York and Brooklyn were formerly one diocese and for a quarter of a century they had had similar customs and few innovations were necessary. In all, the names of 146 priests were listed: 137 present—including one Vincentian, two Fathers of Mercy, and one Redemptorist—and nine diocesan priests absent. The introduction declared in force the decrees of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore and the three Provincial Councils of New York. Six chapters of the statutes were devoted to sacramental legislation, three chapters to divine worship, five to the duties of pastors, and four to the salvation of souls. The decrees covered 28 pages.

The second synod ⁷⁵ was held on Saturday, August 27, 1887, in the same church and, as before, at the end of the clergy retreat. The introduction to the published account stated that after the preliminaries, including the profession of faith, the diocesan officials were named according to the decrees of the recent Council of Baltimore. There were few new decrees to be added to those previously promulgated and the synod solemnly reaffirmed the legislation of the first Brooklyn synod, the four Provincial Councils of New York, and the Second and Third Plenary Councils of Baltimore. The decrees contained six chapters on the sacraments, three on divine worship, five on pastoral duties, and four on the salvation of souls. They were followed by an appendix in English

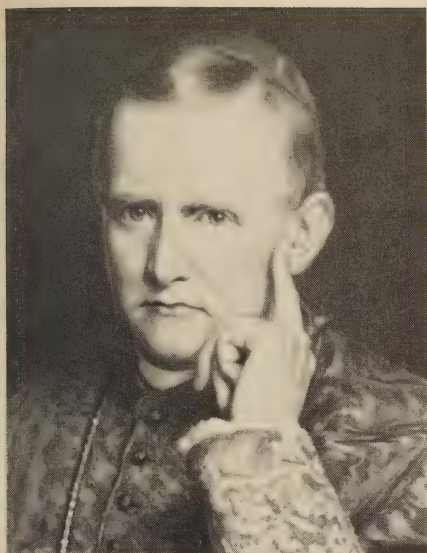
which set forth the promise to be sworn to by the non-Catholic principal in a mixed marriage, and the act of March 5, 1863, by the New York Legislature on the incorporation of religious societies, supplementary to the act of April 5, 1813. Of the 180 clergy listed, 12 were religious—six Vincentians, five Fathers of Mercy, and one Pallottine Father. Of these religious two Vincentians and three Fathers of Mercy were present, and 19 of the diocesan priests were absent.

The diocesan curia as then constituted included two vicars general, six diocesan counsellors or consultors (including the two vicars), six examiners of the clergy, an administrator of temporalities, a notary, a defender of the marriage tie, a censor of books, and nine members of the school commission. The outstanding clergymen of the diocese who were chosen as consultors⁷⁶ were the Very Reverend Vicars General William Keegan and Michael May and Fathers Joseph Fransioli, John McKenna, Jeremiah A. Hartnett, C.M., and Martin Carroll. In January, 1889, the bishop appointed eight irremovable rectors.⁷⁷

THE BISHOP'S RELATIONS WITH HIS PEOPLE AND WITH THE GENERAL PUBLIC

THE RELATIONS of the first bishop of Brooklyn with his people and with the general public is a subject, the narration of which may provide the reader with a better appreciation of his administration and of the Catholic life of the times, as well as of some of the contemporary social movements. As teacher and shepherd of his people, Bishop Loughlin was at pains to instruct and guide his flock on every occasion that presented itself. That he could be pithy and brief may be judged from a letter he wrote to Laurence Kehoe on June 22, 1863. It ran: "Dear Sir: I am very much pleased that the daily papers make no mention of my sermon last evening. I would not care about having it published. Respectfully yours, J. Loughlin, Bishop of Brooklyn." ¹ The old appellation, "laconic John Loughlin," seems invalid, however, in view, for instance, of his remarks "of great" and "considerable length," as reported from the proceedings of St. Vincent de Paul meetings. ² To the end of his days he remained an indefatigable preacher.

At St. James' Pro-Cathedral he preached at the seven o'clock Sunday Mass, which he invariably celebrated for over 35 years. As he himself did, so he instructed his priests to preach the Word without ceasing, on Lenten evenings and on Sundays and holy days throughout the year. ³ He preached, not infrequently, on grand occasions outside the diocese and at solemn and simple affairs at home, where scarcely a diocesan event occurred which he did not support with his presence and his word.



His Eminence John Cardinal McCloskey
1810-1885
Archbishop of New York



Most Reverend Bernard O'Reilly, D.D.
1803-1856
Second Bishop of Hartford



Most Reverend David W. Bacon, D.D.
1813-1874
First Bishop of Portland, Me.



Most Reverend William G. McCloskey, D.D.
1823-1909
Seventh Bishop of Louisville



St. James Pro-Cathedral (1953)

His manner in the pulpit has been described as unruffled, deliberate, and direct. He had a deep, clear, penetrating voice. The content of his sermons showed "a remarkable familiarity with Scripture" and its dogmatic structure concluded with practical moral reflections. Toward the end of his administration it was observed that "one might print fifty discourses of Bishop Loughlin without having need of a single capital 'I.' " ⁴ His address at his golden jubilee was described as that, "of the devoted parish priest rather than a great officer in a great religious hierarchy. It was utterly devoid of any trick of rhetoric or of oratory and had the simplicity and humility of a devout follower of a meek and lowly master." ⁵ There was neither artifice nor self-consciousness about him. A contemporary, reporting Loughlin's remarks at the cornerstone laying of St. Anthony's Church, captured the spirit of many of his sermons: "One of his short terse homilies, which abound in points for reflection and are always suggestive of the train of thought which participants in such services should follow." ⁶

Excerpts from a few sermons delivered in his prime are instructive. What was described as a beautiful address delivered with great power and earnestness was given at the dedication of Holy Trinity Church in 1854. In it, the bishop referred to the German radicals then causing trouble in some western dioceses:

Depart from them [rules given by God to direct men in their social intercourse, if they would maintain it in the order and manner approved by Him], set them aside, and you take for your portion discord, anarchy, and crime. Throw off the restraint which infatuated men are pleased to term bondage, and you leave the enjoyment of true liberty for servitude the most base and ignominious. You abandon the liberty of the children of God, and become the slaves of your own passions, and of the passions of the corrupt, the ambitious, the intriguing, of men, themselves slaves of the lowest grade. You may find yourselves assailed at times by such men under the pretence of friendship, but they are friends for their own occasion. They would endeavor to alienate your heart and affections from what you hold, and what, in truth, is most sacred, your religion; to extinguish that holy light of faith which God has given you to be your guide through the perils of life; to infuse into your hearts principles calculated to destroy every feeling of charity, which the God of charity, order, and peace wills you should constantly practice towards your fellow-men. And you may observe

that the farther they depart from the order prescribed by the religion of God, the more determined and desperate are they in their efforts to disturb the harmony of social life and to keep the world in constant commotion.

In view of these things it is most important that you be at all times on your guard, that you be steadfast in the profession and practice of your holy faith; that you cultivate charity and peace towards all men.⁷

He gave an "admirable address" at the cornerstone laying of the Flushing church in August of the same year. Doubtless with the June Know-Nothing riots in Brooklyn in mind:

. . . he commenced by referring to the antiquity of the ceremony just concluded . . . [and to] its importance, as shown in Holy Writ . . . [and he prayed] that this place might be sacred to God's holy worship, sanctified by His presence, and that the truths of Christ's Gospel might be proclaimed therein for the salvation of the people. A ceremony of this kind affords great comfort to the Catholics, nor may it be without some influence of a salutary kind on those who deny the truth of the perpetuity of the Church. . . .

He dwelt on the commission given to the Apostles and on the command that obedience should be rendered to the Church . . . under the same penalty of being accounted as a heathen and a publican. Nor could God give a command to hear the Church if it were not true; and as the command to hear and obey the Church remains, so the truth remains in her to be heard.

Many give out as taught by the Church doctrines which she abhors. . . . Many seem to have adopted the rule of him who impiously boasted that he would 'crush the wretch.' . . . It is not however in the power of man to destroy the work of God. And the Church, under the Divine protection, will go on discharging the duties for which she was established. No matter how much persecuted, she is still prosperous; no matter how much traduced, she is still triumphant and steadily carrying out the great purpose for which she was instituted. Ever since the days of the imperial Caesars, in various countries and climates, by patience, humility, and perseverance, she softened and civilized her barbarous persecutors, and bestowed on them the blessings of polished learning and pure Gospel truths. Her teachings to her children, are to be good citizens in every relation of life, whether as legislators, or judges, or as moving in more humble spheres. They should ever keep steadily in view the great principles of justice, and charity, and truth, and sincerity; and thus by their conduct refute the calumnies which are constantly uttered against their holy religion.⁸

At the Month's Mind for Archbishop Hughes on February 3, 1864, he "ascended the pulpit and although suffering from evident

ill health, performed the part which had been assigned him on short notice of pronouncing the panegyric of the deceased.”⁹ The sermon, based on St. Paul’s charge to remember our prelates (Hebrews, 13:7), was devoted also to the character and works of the great prelate, and in conclusion he reminded his audience to heed their own Christian dignity:

You are assembled here today, beloved brethren, to perform a work which your religion recommends—that is, to unite in offering the Holy Sacrifice and fervent prayer for the repose of the soul of our lamented Archbishop. You have come, also, it may be, to hear from this place a suitable exposition of his merits, which may be calculated to increase your respect, admiration and affection for him, or to confirm in you those sentiments which have long since had a place in your hearts.

Already most eloquent words of eulogy have been addressed to you. Already you have heard on all sides, in public and in private, the learned and the unlearned, the statesman, the lawyer, the orator, the poet, those who are not members of the Catholic Church, as well as those who are, proclaim, with one accord, their respect for the illustrious departed. On the day of his obsequies you saw within this sacred edifice municipal and various other representations and delegations manifesting their grief for the loss sustained by the whole community, while sympathetic thousands were without, unable to enter. The grand solemnity of that day, and the manifestation of feeling by which it was marked and which the sad event called forth will not soon be forgotten. The remembrance of him whose remains were then before us will be ever cherished with respect and affection by all of us.

After all this, can any word I might utter extend the boundaries of his fame, or increase your respect and affection for him? I apprehend that any effort on my part to accomplish this might be fruitless on account of my inability, in the limited time allowed me for the purpose, and because, even if I had more time, I could not satisfy the demands of justice, or reach the point to which your expectations have been raised. Nevertheless, as it is written by the Apostle, ‘Remember your prelates who have spoken the Word of God to you; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation,’ I venture to speak of one of whom it is difficult to speak, and yet concerning whom it is difficult to be silent. . . .

Then, referring to Hughes’ struggles for religious liberty, he continued:

With eye fixed on the great palladium of civil and religious liberty, on the great principle of the American Government, he asserts for the young and for the old of his flock the rights of conscience. Again you

find him engaged in removing with masterly dexterity the difficulties that obstructed the free observance of ecclesiastical discipline. At another time you see him contemplating the threatening storm of human passion, and soon, as if it awaited his order, it is hushed into inoffensive stillness. Should his adversary present himself behind a mask, he tears it off, and with a rod dipped in a mixture of logic, ridicule and sarcasm, he sends him back in confusion to the obscurity from which he had emerged. . . .

In a few forceful phrases he next evoked a familiar aspect of the archbishop, placing him in the pulpit before them:

What shall I say of the emotions of pleasure experienced by the members of this congregation as he was seen proceeding from the sacristy or episcopal throne toward this place? We know how delighted all were to hear the sound of that voice, now alas! hushed to stillness, to see that penetrating eye, now closed and motionless, and that gesture which seemed to accord so naturally in vigor and force with the language employed in elucidating doctrine or enforcing the observance of moral precept. But why should I continue to repeat what you have so often heard, or endeavor to bring before your view what you have so often seen? It is only for the purpose of exciting anew your respect and your affection for him. While I would say it is not unlawful but rather commendable to ascertain these sentiments, should we not also—yea, and above all—give glory to Him who was pleased to enrich him so munificently? ¹⁰

In 1869 on the eve of the Vatican Council, Bishop Loughlin, preaching at Mass prior to conferring the sacrament of Confirmation in the pastoral village of Jamaica, dwelt on the theme of the perennial persecution of God's Church:

He [Loughlin] read the Gospel of the Sunday, and with his wonted coolness . . . expatiated at length upon the goodness and mercies bestowed upon mankind by Almighty God; reviewed in an eloquent and persuasive manner the schisms and heresies of the day, proving by Divine writings the infallibility of the Catholic Church; reviewed, without the slightest prejudice or ill-feeling, the many unjust and unfounded complaints preferred against the Catholic religion, and by quotations from the Scriptures proved to the evident satisfaction of his hearers the untruthfulness of all and every complaint made against the Church by her traducers; and cautioned her scandalizers by telling them 'scandal must come, but woe to him who bringeth it.' So unbiased and free from all manner of prejudice and contempt were his remarks, that he won the approbation and respect of those of opposite belief, and many went away more enlightened and with freer minds

than imagination ever pictured to them. In fact, all seemed to agree in saying that it was one of the most masterly delineations of Scripture and of things appertaining thereto that it had ever before been their pleasure to listen to.¹¹

Besides his frequent preaching Bishop Loughlin was the author also—despite a legend to the contrary¹²—of many pastoral and circular letters to the Faithful. Their subject matter ranged from parochial to universal Catholic interests. The messages were usually brief and signed, “Very respectfully, your obedient servant in Christ.” Moreover, every papal message of the Church was echoed and reaffirmed in the Catholic pulpit and press of Brooklyn by order of the bishop. From his pen and lips there also came frequent protests against spoliation of the Pope’s possessions and affirmations of loyalty and requests for prayers for both Pius IX and Leo XIII.

Trusteeism, which exercised such evil influence in the early Church of New York, scarcely marred the administration of Bishop Loughlin. But the tenure of church property, which was the root of the evil, remained a real threat until tolerable legal satisfaction was grudgingly granted by the New York State Legislature in 1863. With the approval of Archbishop Hughes, the congregation of St. Peter’s Church in 1852 had proposed a bill to the State Legislature to allow Catholic bishops to hold church property in trust for religious and charitable purposes, making each one a corporation sole and removing both the need of trustees and the possibility of church property passing to heirs at law of the bishop.¹³ The law makers marked time on the proposal, while the *Brooklyn Eagle* of June 21, 1853, called it a “startling . . . church power in the hands of a few religious dignitaries that make religion a mockery.” Then, rebel trustees in Rochester and Buffalo defeated the proposed legislation and with the aid of Know-Nothings passed a law on April 9, 1855, vesting church property, upon the death of a Catholic bishop, in the incorporated congregation or having it revert to the state. The act was passed by bitter and avowed enemies of the Church to introduce ruin into her temporal affairs.¹⁴

Senator Erastus Brooks, an advocate of the act, declared in a speech against papal tyranny and Jesuit malevolence that the

"State is Protestant in its character if not in its constitution," and he declared that the archbishop was holding church property, not as a trustee, but in his own name.¹⁵ Hughes refuted Brooks in a series of letters to the press. The *Eagle* found these letters "full of logic, sarcasm and rhetoric," adding that "a good editor was spoiled when he became a priest."¹⁶

The Catholics vainly petitioned the Legislature on May 29, 1857, for redress. However, when they were needed to help fight the Civil War, the power of bigotry went into a temporary eclipse and on March 5, 1863, the Legislature passed a church incorporation law,¹⁷ drafted for the archbishop by Charles O'Connor. By this law the bishop, vicar general, and pastor might select two lay trustees and become a body corporate for the congregation. Years later, amendments were passed further strengthening the episcopal position. New York's present law recognizes the hierarchical constitution and safeguards the unity of the Church.¹⁸

A few Brooklyn instances are preserved of appeals against the authority of trustees, threats to tax church property, and city tax claims against church property. An instance of the first was the unsuccessful court petition of the "Law Committee of St. Anthony's Church" to hamper the bishop and the trustees.¹⁹ There was trouble also between the trustees and Father Florence McCarthy, founder and pastor of St. Cecilia's Church from 1874 until his resignation in 1884.²⁰ The only parish known to have suffered ecclesiastical penalties was the German parish of St. Benedict. There, a teacher-organist, Obermeyer by name, had begun the first parish school about the same time in 1875 that Father Henry A. Zimmer became pastor. In 1876 the priest introduced four Sisters of St. Dominic to teach the girls, but Obermeyer incited parents and pupils to rebel and to threaten the sisters until they left. Father Zimmer was shouted down from the pulpit, as was Father John J. Raber. Then the bishop placed the parish under interdict. The trouble continued for months until Father Ignatius Zeller, the next pastor, established order with the help of the police.²¹ He reopened the school with 150 children and two lay teachers in 1880.²² In September, 1882, the Sisters of Christian Charity took over the teaching.

While within the Church all was comparatively calm, her external enemies were making themselves heard again. Loughlin's episcopal consecration itself offered an opportunity to add fuel to the fires of anti-Catholicism, for we read:

The Protestant Press is rejoicing over the supposed discovery of a fraud on the public, in the publication of the oath taken by the Bishops recently consecrated at St. Patrick's Cathedral. It is said that the real oath was kept back and a forgery substituted in its place to delude the heretics and conceal the intolerance of the Mother Church.²³

While some ministers, such as the nationally known Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn, must bear serious responsibility for the new anti-Catholic crusade that burst as Bishop Loughlin took possession of his episcopal see, the name of Brooklyn's first bishop was rarely mentioned in association with that persecution or with the tragic Civil War that followed it. He shunned newspaper reporters and the civic forum seldom heard him. There are multiple instances, indeed, of his defense of the Faith, his warnings and encouragement to his people, but this strong, silent man never engaged in public controversy. While Archbishop Hughes lived, there was little need for him to do so; after the Civil War, acts of violence against the Church became rarer; moreover, Brooklyn was overshadowed by the neighboring metropolitan see of New York. Nevertheless, the renewed persecution of the Church and the War of the Rebellion brought serious problems to the bishop and Faithful of Brooklyn.

Ever since the outrages of 1844 had subsided, the forces of anti-Catholicism had been building anew. Meanwhile, immigration swelled the ranks of the foreign-born faster than ever; naturalization increased the "foreign" vote and upset the calculations of politicians. The Democratic party gave the Irish their best welcome, but the guests complained that the Democrats were friendly on Election Day but ignored them the rest of the year.²⁴ Labor charged the new arrivals with lowering wage levels; "reformers" found little sympathy among Germans and Irish for their prohibition and abolition views; religious fanatics were alarmed at the rapid increase of Catholic churches and schools and they were no recorded instance of a Protestant house of worship ravaged by

incensed at Catholic attempts to secure religious freedom in public institutions and public support for their own schools. The forces of bigotry followed the usual pattern: the formation of un-American political parties; the growth of anti-Catholic publications; the preachments of a number of ministers and the revelations of ex-priests employed by them—the Irish William Hogan, Canadian Peter Chiniquy, and Italian Giovanni Giacinto Achilli and Alessandro Gavazzi, whose conduct was known to be infamous; incitement to riot fomented by demagogic street preachers and by revolutionaries expelled from Europe; and legislation adverse to the Church. With all this, be it said to their shame, otherwise reputable newspapers were often in accord.

The political spearhead of the agitation was the Know-Nothing party. It grew principally from the secret Nativist groups of which, by the end of 1852, there were over 60 in New York and Brooklyn.²⁵ That year, the Democrat Franklin Pierce defeated the Whig Winfield Scott for the presidency, and the Nativists amalgamated and organized as the Know-Nothings in 35 states.²⁶ In 1854 the party won many municipal elections, including those of New York and Brooklyn.²⁷ The next year, the Know-Nothings won the elections in nine states and sent 75 representatives to Congress. In 1856 they nominated Millard Fillmore on a platform excluding Catholics from public office and demanding that all children born in the United States attend public schools. However, the Know-Nothings received only Maryland's eight electoral votes, and James Buchanan won the election. The party died out thereafter from internal dissension over slavery and from instinctive American revulsion against its secrecy and rowdyism. Most of its members became Republicans. Before it passed away it had recorded to its discredit, in 1855 alone, the Nunneries Inspection Bill in Massachusetts; the robbery, tarring, and feathering of Father John Bapst, S.J., in Maine; Bloody Monday in Louisville, Kentucky, when two or three blocks were destroyed and a score of people killed; and the iniquitous Church Property Bill at Albany.²⁸ It was small consolation to have been told by Horace Greeley's *Tribune* of September 8, 1854, that while five or six Catholic edifices had been devastated or destroyed by mob violence, there was

Catholics.²⁹ The Know-Nothing party was responsible for other outrages and riots throughout the country, including Brooklyn.

The most distinguished single sufferer was Gaetano Bedini, archbishop of Thebes and papal nuncio to the Court of Brazil. He arrived in New York on June 30, 1853, to investigate conditions in the American Church, and he bore a friendly letter from Pope Pius IX to President Franklin Pierce. After his trip to Washington the nuncio proceeded to visit various prelates throughout the country. Despite his flawless conduct and charming personality, he received mixed receptions from the general public. The better elements were uniformly courteous; to the Know-Nothings his presence was the signal for abuse and riot.³⁰ The nuncio was accused of the death of the apostate Bassi and other criminals who had been civilly tried and condemned by the Austrian government in Bologna.³¹

An Italian revolutionary, Alessandro Gavazzi, who was an ex-Barnabite priest and rabid anti-Catholic, placed himself at the head of some Italian and German radicals and dogged Bedini over the country. Under Garibaldi, Gavazzi had fought with crucifix and revolvers strapped to his waist, ready to administer absolution or death.³² He had arrived in New York in March, 1853, and quickly stirred up trouble there and in Baltimore. Sponsored by the *North American Protestant*, he lectured on May 11 on keeping America Protestant, at the Odeon in Williamsburg, and he repeated the performance the next night in Brooklyn, where leading Protestant clergymen gave him \$1,000 in tribute.³³ Again he lectured, in December, 1853, to the Williamsburg Protestant American Association, speaking against the Pope and Catholic opposition to the Protestant Bible in public schools.³⁴

Archbishop Hughes invited the nuncio to preside at the consecration of Bishops Loughlin, Bayley, and Goesbriand on October 30, 1853, and he kept him in New York to still the outcry against him and to allow Protestants to honor him. The mayor gave him the tribute of a round of municipal visits and a public banquet on November 10. He had a similar reception in Brooklyn, from which place Father Pise wrote:

We have all been delighted with him here. He is an excellent representative of Pius IX, polished, courtly in manners, handsome in person,

amiable in character, eloquent in speech and zealous for the interests of the Church in these United States. Our city of Brooklyn has done her duty towards him and he has left upon us an impression which can never be effaced.³⁵

The *Star*, one of the respectable journals, was then referring to Bedini as a "notorious butcher" and "man skinner."³⁶ This savagery was eclipsed on Long Island, especially by the *Sag Harbor Corrector*, which published inflammatory articles against Catholics.³⁷ The nuncio resumed his tour of inspection but abandoned it after a nearly successful attempt on his life at Cincinnati in December. Disorders had by this time reached such a state in New York that Archbishop Hughes issued a pastoral on December 15, 1853,³⁸ urging Catholics to avoid street preachers and to keep the peace, but declaring that if conspiracy went unrebuked by public authority or menaced private or public property, then they were to defend the law and their rights. Again no church in New York was harmed. Bedini paid a farewell visit to President Pierce on January 10 and sailed from New York in secret, on the advice of the authorities, February 3, 1854.³⁹

Although the American *chargé d'affaires* at the papal court had recommended Bedini most highly, and although the nuncio was warmly defended in the United States Senate, the Pope's letter went unanswered and the whole episode remains a blot on American diplomatic history.⁴⁰ The nuncio in his own accounts of the affair wrote that while the nation had been courteous, the government, if not hostile, was negative. He noted the dangers inherent to a democracy, chiefly that the fears and prejudices of uninformed voters, to whom many grave questions were submitted, could be exploited by demagogues. He observed that a few years previous, a Catholic church had been a rarity, but now the Church was organized and increasing and confronted only with a disintegrating Protestantism. He reported that many Germans were influential infidels and revolutionaries; the Irish had strong faith but were exposed to great losses; bishops and clergy were edifying in the discharge of complicated duties and were everywhere building churches and institutions with scanty means. He urged the appointment of an apostolic delegate and suggested that only Americans occupy American sees.⁴¹

In the wake of the Bedini affair, street preaching, which had been general throughout the country, came also to Brooklyn. The contemporary accounts of the anti-Catholic harangues of preachers Daniel Parsons, Saunders McSwich Orr, an itinerant Methodist preacher, and others in leading cities give an idea of the rising tide of animosity.⁴² A certain Rae fired the first gun at Smith and Atlantic Streets on the Sundays of May 14 and May 21, 1854.⁴³ On May 28 the Reverend John Beach of the Bridge Street Methodist Church orated at the same corner. When he finished, some 300 New York Know-Nothings who had attended, marched through Smith Street beating a number of Irish residents. The latter summoned help and hotly pursued the foe to the Catherine Street ferry slip.⁴⁴ Excitement grew during the week with the report that 1,500 Know-Nothings were coming from Philadelphia to burn St. James' Church⁴⁵ and attack St. Paul's and "for some days armed and determined men guarded the church."⁴⁶ The clergy urged the Faithful to avoid such provocative demonstrations,⁴⁷ but Sunday, June 4, saw a serious riot. The New York Know-Nothings arrived in force toward the end of the Methodist services held at Smith and Atlantic Streets. The preacher, from New York, choosing an Irish neighborhood for his pitch, harangued the crowd on the "vices and errors of Romanism" and then slipped away.⁴⁸ The invaders from New York then marched back and forth jeering until Mayor Edward A. Lambert ordered them to cease. Then, under police escort, they marched through Smith, Fulton, and Main Streets to the ferry accompanied by 2,000 of their Brooklyn friends. By this time a crowd of 20,000 had assembled. At Main, Water, and Front Streets rioting broke out, the marchers firing into the crowd and the crowd retaliating with clubs and stones. The police were unable to restore order until the militia came. One man was killed, 60 were wounded, and an equal number arrested. The *Star* of June 5, in its version of the affair, stated that four companies of the 14th Regiment were called out but that Irish members refused to answer. However, Colonel J. C. Smith, commanding officer, replied that all companies had the same orders and all obeyed them, including two officered by and composed of Irishmen, namely, F Company, or Shields Guards, and C Company, or Emmet Guards.⁴⁹

The *Freeman's Journal* of June 7, 1854, analyzing the situation, declared:

On Sunday, last, somewhere from fifteen hundred to two thousand men went over from New York to Brooklyn . . . for the purpose of promoting, or sustaining a street-preacher. Most of these men . . . were armed with concealed weapons, pistols and knives. This procession was itself, therefore, a riot, and the members of it were rioters. . . .

Now the fact that the procession from New York was illegal and riotous was no reason for authorizing any parties to assail them. The parties assailing the procession were riotous also. . . .

If indeed any class of inhabitants believed that they were likely to be inconvenienced and endangered by the destruction of their homes, schools, or churches, they had a perfect right to take precautions for their defense and protection. . . . The Catholic authorities of Brooklyn called on the people to keep aloof from those who were trying to excite them to riot. . . .

It is not a sentiment of Native-Americanism that is at the bottom of these disturbances. Their promoters are mostly Englishmen and Irish Protestants. This is an ascertained fact. We have, moreover, good grounds for our assertion that these foreign servants of England are in the pay of the British government.

On June 6, Mayor Lambert issued a proclamation cautioning against interference with the right of assemblage in buildings or on private grounds and against demonstrations such as processions through streets that provoked others; but there were great crowds, rumors, and excitement. On Saturday, Bishop Loughlin visited all the pastors, warning them against any demonstration, Cavalry Troop A remained at the trouble spot, and militia patrolled the streets.⁵⁰ In its Sunday issue of June 11, the *Freeman's Journal* again warned that rioters were coming from New York supported by British gold to divide American sentiment. It urged Catholics to stay away, because the authorities were well prepared for the emergency.

Despite precautions, another large riot took place that very Sunday. Both "Angel Gabriel" Orr and a Mr. Booth of the Primitive Methodist Church spoke against "Romanists" at the usual stand. The Catholics among the crowd restrained themselves, but as Orr started for the ferry to New York, two "fiery Irishmen" waiting with paving stones were arrested. Other Irishmen attempted to rescue them at Hicks and State Streets and there was

a pitched battle along Atlantic Street, where some of the Irish entrenched themselves in the railroad tunnel. Many of both parties were injured. The 14th Regiment restored order, and a number of Irish were arrested for breaking the peace.⁵¹ This seems to have been the last Brooklyn appearance of the "Angel Gabriel," for he was arrested in Boston that summer for rioting and drifted to British Guiana, where in 1857 he died while serving a prison term for rioting and sedition.⁵²

Stiles, despite the evidence, wrote that no disturbance occurred, "the right of free speech being fully vindicated by the prompt and decisive action of the mayor and authorities, aided by the efforts of Bishop Loughlin among his parishioners."⁵³ The *Williamsburg Times* scolded the Irish Catholics for abusing the privileges of free speech that they enjoyed.⁵⁴ Some papers were more discerning or honest. The *Commercial Advertiser* deplored "Angel Gabriel's" "appeals to the worst passions of our nature by billingsgate, abuse of creeds and of those who profess them. . . . They . . . planted their preacher in the midst of the people whose nationality or religious creed he was to assail in offensive language," for while the Irish struck first, the provocation came from him and his guard.⁵⁵ "Erasmus" complained that the *Eagle* and other papers admitted communications against Catholics but none defending them and he suggested that, in view of the distinguished consideration shown the Know-Nothings and street preachers, the mayor should provide "music and a collation for the champions of free speech, blasphemy and gun powder."⁵⁶

The guardians of public order were as myopic as the press. Such meetings were deliberate incitements to disorder and should have been prohibited. To permit such affairs in Irish quarters meant to seek trouble. The harangues and jeers naturally led to words, blows, and riot. The Know-Nothings, anticipating this, were well armed; the Irish suffered the physical injury and were accused of disrupting lawful meetings and interfering with free speech. Street preaching continued until the cold weather, but there were no more riots.

Later, in that same first year of Bishop Loughlin's episcopacy, there were serious threats against the Catholic churches in the city of Williamsburg. That city had been demoralized ever since the

election of 1842 because of the unscrupulous rivalry between Nativists and straight Whigs. The two parties were united, however, in their strong opposition to the "foreigners."⁵⁷ The current trouble began on Election Tuesday, November 7, 1854, when deputy sheriffs, who were imported Know-Nothings, challenged every Irish voter at the polling place at Second and North Sixth Streets. The Irish then did some challenging of their own, rioting began, and both sides received reinforcements, with the Know-Nothings, aided by other deputy sheriffs, organized by the notorious Ned Buntline.^{57a} Two men received fatal injuries. The fighting quieted down after the mayor installed the military at Odeon Hall on North Fifth Street.

On Thursday night several hundred Know-Nothings under Bill Poole came over from New York seeking revenge; their numbers were augmented by others from Brooklyn. They marched through Fifth, Sixth, Second, and Grand Streets, shouting, firing pistols, and beating the Irish whom they met. Then they took up the cry, "Down with the churches." At this juncture, Mayor Wall ordered their dispersal. Instead, they tore down the railing before the Church of SS. Peter and Paul and broke into the building. They started to fire the church, when the militia arrived and saved it.⁵⁸

The next night 400 soldiers guarded SS. Peter and Paul's, Immaculate Conception Church in Maujer Street, and the Methodist edifice on North Fifth Street.⁵⁹ Sunday came, but the promised street preaching did not materialize and the disturbances ceased, whether because of heavy rain, the mayor's proclamation, or the entreaties of Father Michael A. Wallace at each Mass, on the request of Bishop Loughlin, that Catholics remain away. The pastor, Father Sylvester Malone, was absent at the time, having gone to Rome for the solemn proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception—a ceremony derided by many of the newspapers.⁶⁰ The prompt action of Father Raffener in stationing his parishioners about the parish buildings of Holy Trinity had prevented violence there.⁶¹

Unhappily, some ministers continued to feed the flames of bigotry.⁶² Some of their attacks were amusing. The purchase of former Protestant churches by the congregations of St. Charles Borromeo and St. Boniface gave rise to false reports of similar

purchases pending. One such report was utilized by the pastor of the Brooklyn Trinity Episcopal Church. Declaring that Hughes was trying to buy his church, he succeeded in raising funds enough to cancel the mortgage. It mattered not that neither Hughes nor Loughlin had tried to buy it.⁶³ When the Reverend Thomas T. Guion of St. John's Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, failed to sell his church to Loughlin, which he offered to do in October, 1855, that minister declared that Catholic tastes should prefer the slum neighborhood in which his church was located.⁶⁴ The most influential offender was Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887) of Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. Son of Lyman Beecher, the Congregationalist minister who was partly responsible for the burning of the Charlestown convent in 1834, he alternated his life between outrageous attacks on Catholics, as the one in Rochester in 1851, and seeming fairness toward them.⁶⁵ When Catholics declined to vote at his request for Frémont and against State rights he declared, "Slaves themselves . . . how could they be expected to help the great cause of human freedom."⁶⁶

It is pleasant to recall that many Brooklyn non-Catholics, honest, just, and Christian, like the Reverend Evan M. Johnson, Episcopalian, who protested admitting foreign revolutionaries to America,⁶⁷ were unaffected by the propaganda. Some consolation came also from high places to Catholics in those bitter years. Henry Clay said, "Their prayers are offered up in their temples to the same Redeemer Whose intercession we expect to save us. Nor is there anything in the Catholic religion unfavorable to freedom."⁶⁸ Abraham Lincoln declared on August 24, 1855, "I am not a Know-Nothing; how could I be? How can any one who abhors the oppression of negroes be in favor of degrading certain classes of white people?"⁶⁹

Other contemporary judgments are interesting. Orestes Brownson shocked Hughes and the Irish by his position. He admitted the advantages that immigrants conferred on America and he favored granting them civil if not political rights. He blamed Know-Nothingism on foreign radicals, not on native Americans. He admitted that Know-Nothings at best were narrow, but he advised foreigners to leave controversy and their defense to the native-born.⁷⁰ Gabriel Furman of Brooklyn, for whom the Church had

since lost its charm, wrote that it did not keep faith with heretics and that "Roman Catholics must be most ignorant or they would not assume as much as they do in this country. Brownson seems to be the only one who appreciates their true position."⁷¹ Archbishop Hughes wrote on August 7, 1855, to Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda: "Bad feeling has unquestionably done us good—so much, indeed, that our religion is under general investigation. . . . No other creed seems worthy of the slightest notice."⁷²

All the ingredients for a major clash between the Irish-Catholic immigrants and the native and largely English-Protestant population were present. Skillful, prejudiced propaganda furnished the spark for the conflict. If Catholic bishops and people had fought the anti-Catholic bigotry more aggressively than they did, the two strong forces in conflict would have caused vastly greater harm. Bishop Loughlin and other bishops wisely chose, instead, a reasonable self-defense, patience, tact, and forbearance. The policy bore fruit. Then the Civil War came and non-Catholics learned at first hand the patriotism of Catholics. More accurate ideas of liberty and democracy emerged and a more tolerant and united nation developed, but most American non-Catholic historians have dealt very tenderly with the topic.

The opinions of two more fair-minded historians are revealing. One, in 1901, judged that the Nativists could have fought more successfully on the ground of Catholic non-conformity to American ideals in education and church control, instead of attacking remoter papal "hostility" to America. Another, in 1938, admitted that most of the charges against the Church were baseless and malicious. He thought that Catholic opposition to Protestant Bible reading in public schools, insistence on state aid for denominational schools, bold expressions by bishops and priests, growth of the Catholic press, settling of trustee controversies, formation of new dioceses, and calling of national and provincial councils aggravated matters. He failed to see that although some of these activities were, perhaps, unwise then and only accidental to Catholicism, others were essential to it.⁷³

Unhappily, also, a line of cleavage was established that never should have been drawn in a democracy. It was evident in the

period from 1860 to 1890, as we have seen, in the reactions to immigrants, the kidnapping of children, the attacks against Catholic schools and institutions, and the opposition to state support and freedom of worship. The same prejudice was displayed during the middle and closing years of Loughlin's episcopacy by some newspapers and ministers and by the formation of still other Nativist groups.

The *Catholic Review* declared that the *New York Times*, the *New York Herald*, and *Harper's Weekly* were the bitterest anti-Catholic organs in the land.⁷⁴ For years the *Review* printed a column entitled "Hunt the *Herald*," exposing that paper. In *Harper's* the cartoons of German-born Thomas Nast invariably breathed hatred of the Church. He caricatured mitred bishops as crocodiles frightening public-school children, and he always depicted Irishmen with simian features.⁷⁵ Nor did the *Brooklyn Eagle* and the Long Island press improve with the passage of time.⁷⁶

According to the *Brooklyn Catholic*, nearly every Protestant minister in the city preached every Sunday against the Catholic Church.⁷⁷ They denounced German anti-Jewish laws but said nothing about the *Kulturkampf*.⁷⁸ In 1872 the General Methodist Conference in Brooklyn had Gavazzi as its guest speaker. Seeking more easy-money, he asked for \$25,000 for a Roman training college for evangelical ministers.⁷⁹ The *New York Sun* protested the blasphemies of De Witt Talmadge, the liberal Presbyterian minister of Brooklyn Tabernacle (1869-1897) and editor of the *Christian At Work*.⁸⁰ Beecher, who maintained his following despite the scandals of his trial (1871-1872), once referred to "the hard working, hard drinking Catholic clergy," and he explained Cleveland's 1884 election by saying that "the Cardinal winked at the bishops, the bishops winked at the clergy and the clergy winked at the voters."⁸¹ He could have found a better explanation in the failure of James G. Blaine, Cleveland's opponent, to rebuke the Reverend Samuel D. Burchard's campaign speech which referred to the Democratic party as one of "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion."⁸² The *Catholic Review*, noting the nomination of the Catholic, William R. Grace, for the New York mayoralty, declared that Brooklyn had never nominated a Catholic mayor, but the

paper offered no objection when the mayor appointed two Protestant clergymen to municipal positions.⁸³ Justin D. Fulton, Brooklyn Baptist minister, kept himself in the public eye for some years by eccentric conduct and controversy concerning democracy, slavery, rum, theatres, women's suffrage, and popery. In 1887 he declared that God had selected him to rid the planet of popery. While the world held its breath, he left Brooklyn to give his whole time to the task in Boston.⁸⁴

Among the later Nativist political movements⁸⁵ opposed to the Church and freedom of worship were the American Alliance of 1876, the American Protective Association (APA) founded in 1887, the National League for Protecting American Institutions of 1889, and the Evangelical Alliance of 1889. All had a considerable following in Brooklyn.

Even the person of the Holy Father was not exempted from official American bigotry. In 1867 the United States failed to appropriate the money for the salary of its minister at the court of Pius IX under the erroneous belief that the Pope ordered an American Protestant church in Rome to close. Although General Rufus King, the American minister to Rome, 1863-1868, denied the story, Congress refused to continue the minister's salary. It was neither a dignified nor a courteous end to a relationship begun in 1847 and it deprived our government of diplomatic advantages enjoyed by many non-Catholic countries.⁸⁶

Although the Civil War was again the occasion, in some instances, for exploiting the Irish and attacking the Church, Catholics defended the Union probably in greater number than their proportion of the population, and the Church emerged from the conflict stronger than ever. Rabid abolitionists hastened the conflict between the states. These persons demanded immediate, universal, and unrecompensed abolition, and their strong views occasioned the split of their churches into Northern and Southern sects.⁸⁷ Prominent among them was Beecher of Brooklyn. During the debate over the Kansas-Nebraska Bill in 1854, he urged that the abolitionists in the border states be furnished with "Beecher's Bibles" or rifles. Some members of his congregation harbored fugitive slaves. His sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, wrote the last chapter of her novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in Orange Street, Brook-

lyn, in 1852. Lincoln said the book caused the Civil War, but she modestly declared that God wrote it. It was an unjust indictment of the South, and Catholic papers in the North and the South were indignant.⁸⁸

The Catholic press throughout the country disagreed on the responsibility for the war and the interpretation of the Constitution. They were agreed that slavery was not intrinsically evil. They insisted that it be tolerated as an unavoidable evil in the circumstance until a lesser evil could be substituted. The Catholic editors observed that the nation was not prepared to meet the sudden upset to the country's economy or to adjust the slave to freedom. They upheld the Constitution and State rights. They wanted peace and union, and they attacked abolition and secession. It was abundantly clear that they did not cause the war.⁸⁹

The New York *Freeman's Journal* said: "Negro slavery, chiefly introduced by New England bottoms, is established over the whole country; found unproductive . . . it passes from the North. But, by degrees, it is discovered that 'all men are *born* free and equal' and that a black man is as good as a white man and better too, and New England straightway fabricates an *ism* for his immediate emancipation." The *Catholic Mirror* of Baltimore wrote: "The honest opponents of Negro-slavery would do well to . . . compare the overworked, whipped, half-starved and crippled *free* (!) child of Manchester with the whistling, dancing and singing, Negro-slave boy of the South; or the wretched, sickly, crooked and stunted miner of Cornwall, with the hale, erect and good humored Southern fieldhand. . . . The contrasts are fair and just; and not far fetched or exceptional."⁹⁰

The American hierarchy saw that every solution would involve political and social upheaval and that until higher views prevailed, their statements would be useless and harmful. They kept silence and avoided both politics and schism. As the struggle began, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina wrote that the country's division was complete and irretrievable. He admired the Catholic Church, the only united spiritual force keeping America one and indivisible.⁹¹

Most of the Catholic people were Democrats. However, Arch-

bishop Hughes realized that while the Constitution of the United States recognized slavery, it opposed secession. He deprecated the assumed necessity for the war, but after it came, he educated his people to support the Union. To Bishop Patrick N. Lynch of Charleston, who became Confederate commissioner to the Vatican, where he was received, not in that capacity, but as a bishop, Hughes wrote:

I am an advocate for the sovereignty of every State in the Union within the limits recognized and approved by its own representative authority when the Constitution was agreed upon. . . . I maintain that no State has a right to secede, except in the manner provided for in the document itself.⁹²

To Bishop Richard V. Whelan of Wheeling, Hughes wrote:

[the South has] taken upon itself to be judge in its own cause . . . this means either revolution or rebellion, since there are tribunals agreed upon by the North and South and supported by both for a period of more than seventy years . . . the Federal Government has only to abdicate or meet sword with sword.⁹³

Fort Sumter was fired on, April 12, 1861. For four years thereafter the children of the house that was the United States were at each other's throats, while immigrants and sons of immigrants fought to preserve their adopted land. Patriotic meetings and solemn flag-raisings followed the start of hostilities.⁹⁴ Fifty thousand attended the meeting at Fort Greene Park on Tuesday, April 23. Among the officials were several Catholics—the Honorable John Cochran, Father Malone, who urged support of the Union and forgetfulness of past mistakes, and Judge Alexander McCue, who read the resolutions adopted. The latter also read the letter⁹⁵ which Bishop Loughlin addressed to the meeting:

Brooklyn, April 23, 1861

Dear Sir: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of the invitation with which I am honored to attend the meeting to be held this evening. As it may be impossible for me to be present, I would say that I conceive it to be my duty, as I am admonished, to 'pray for the things that are for peace.' It has been my hope and fervent prayer that peace and prosperity of every kind might be the portion of our beloved country, and that if at any time difficulties should occur to interfere with either, they might be adjusted in a peaceable manner.

The idea of resorting to arms for a settlement between the citizens of our great and glorious country I have endeavored to keep as far as possible from my mind, but now events proclaim its probability at least, if not its reliability. In whatever circumstances our country may be, we owe loyalty to its constitution and laws and honor to its flag. This I hold to be the duty of every citizen. The conviction that it is mine has grown with my growth and strengthened with my strength, nor shall time render less imperative the obligation implied in it. I shall continue to pray that peace and Union may be restored and permanently established—that the constitution and laws may be respected and that our flag—the American flag, the flag of the Union, the Star Spangled Banner—may be loved and honored at home and abroad.

I am, respectfully,
your obedient servant,
John Loughlin
Bishop of Brooklyn

In tears, Father Pise, a native of Maryland, preached at St. Charles' on loyalty to the flag. Father Raffener raised the flag with his own hands to the top of his church before 2,000 people. Father Malone placed the flag below the cross on his steeple and when Williamsburg volunteers carried it to war, another was nailed to the steeple. The children of St. John's in Gowanus raised the flag to their school cupola.⁹⁶

The peak of the Confederacy was reached in 1863, and at that time the North resorted to conscription. Frequently the draft was in secret and allotments were unjust. It was reported that in some Republican districts one in 59 persons and one of 10 voters were drafted; whereas in Democratic districts one in 32 and one of three voters were.⁹⁷ Married men over 35 years of age were exempt, the unmarried were not. "This Yankee cuteness" allowed unmarried priests who abstained from political agitation to fall under the draft and exempted married ministers, some of whom worked for war.⁹⁸ The draft, moreover, favored the rich who could pay for exemption or for a substitute. Some employers suspended business until the employees enlisted to feed their families. The owners then hired other operatives and resumed business.⁹⁹

Governor Horatio Seymour complained of the situation to Lincoln and asked a court test, but the President replied that no time

was left. Then from July 13 to 18, the terrible New York draft riots in which 50,000 to 70,000 participated, took place. The dead were variously estimated, some figures ranging as high as 2,000, the wounded at 8,000, and property loss at millions. Seymour asked Hughes to do what he could and the archbishop made his famous address on Friday, July 17, from the balcony of his home at the northwest corner of Madison Avenue and 36th Street. The disorders quieted down and once more Hughes had performed a great service to his country.¹⁰⁰ While Kings County was tense, no untoward incident occurred.¹⁰¹

It is said, "In proportion to their numbers more English, German and Irish immigrants served in the Union armies than native born Americans."¹⁰² Official records show that about 150,000 of Irish birth enlisted and at least as many more Americans born of Irish parents.¹⁰³ It has been estimated that of the troops furnished by Kings County for the Civil War, one third were Catholic.¹⁰⁴ Some of them were veterans of European wars or members of the local militia. A few incomplete records of militia and volunteer regiments tell a partial story.¹⁰⁵

The 13th Regiment, with many Irish members, including Lt. Col. W. A. McKee and Major S. K. Boyd, defended Harrisburg. The 14th Regiment, largely Irish Catholic, served during the entire Civil War and made one of the greatest records. It departed from Brooklyn 1,100 strong, but only 147 returned.¹⁰⁶ The 22nd, organized in 1853 with a majority of Irish officers and men, had become, by 1861, largely German. It defended Washington until 1863, as did the 28th under Colonel Michael Bennett. Holy Trinity parish was represented by the Schwarze Jaeger in the 54th Volunteer Regiment and by Company A of the 3rd Infantry. Major Walsh helped organize the 56th Regiment in 1862.

Many Brooklyn and Long Island Catholics were to be found in other New York State volunteer regiments. The 69th, the oldest infantry regiment in the United States and composed almost exclusively of Irish Catholics from New York and Brooklyn, was completely refilled four times in the course of the war,¹⁰⁷ and it suffered more in killed and wounded than any other regiment.¹⁰⁸ Colonel Corcoran, who was captured in rear-guard action at Bull Run and later exchanged, formed Brig. Gen. Corcoran's Irish

Legion. It was almost entirely Catholic, with many from the diocese of Brooklyn.¹⁰⁹ Brooklyn Catholics formed part of other distinguished New York State volunteer regiments, such as the 158th, whose color sergeant, the Catholic Samuel Graham, received three Congressional medals; the 3rd, which also included Company A from Holy Trinity; and the 6th Cavalry with nearly 300 Brooklyn Catholics. The last named group, almost wholly Irish-Americans from St. John the Evangelist's parish, left for three years' service after receiving Holy Communion and hearing Mass and a sermon.¹¹⁰ East Hampton Town had 31 Irish names among its volunteers who joined the 81st and 127th Regiments. Among 317 drafted at Sag Harbor were 41 with Irish names and Father Joseph Brunemann. Undoubtedly, Brunemann's parishioners paid for his exemption from service.¹¹¹ Other distinguished local Catholic officers whose names are preserved were: General J. E. Mallon, killed at Bristowa Station, to the expressed regrets of the Brooklyn City Council; ¹¹² Brig. Gen. Thomas W. Sweeney, presented with a sword by the city; ¹¹³ Colonel James Monroe of the 22nd Regiment, killed at Harper's Ferry; Lt. William Leahey of the 170th; Col. Belton and Gen. Charles P. Stone of Flushing, a convert and veteran of the Mexican and Civil Wars.¹¹⁴

As the sanguinary conflict was closing, Bishop Loughlin, upon the news of Lincoln's assassination, penned a "touching circular" to his clergy.¹¹⁵ A few other instances indicate the patriotic interest of Brooklyn's first bishop in public affairs. The diocese celebrated the centennial of the Declaration of Independence with solemn Masses and the singing of *Te Deums*.¹¹⁶ When President James A. Garfield died on September 19, 1881, the episcopal residence was draped in black and prayers in the churches were scheduled.¹¹⁷ The centennial of Washington's first inaugural was greeted with directions from Loughlin in a circular dated April 22, 1889, for Masses and *Te Deums*. Parish societies passed resolutions of gratitude and Bishop Loughlin preached an eloquent discourse on the subject at the thanksgiving Mass at St. James' on April 30.¹¹⁸

The first ordinary of the diocese of Brooklyn was a churchman who observed the proprieties. He remained aloof from the civic

forum. Yet he built—mightily—churches, schools, and institutions; he helped thereby to provide employment and business for the general population and to Americanize his heterogeneous flock. He was a moderating, stabilizing influence, and this won him deep respect. He deserved the thanks of city, state, and nation.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES*

A A B	—Archives, Archdiocese of Baltimore
A A N Y	—Archives, Archdiocese of New York
A C H S <i>Records</i>	— <i>Records</i> of the American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia, quarterly, from 1887
A C H S <i>Researches</i>	— <i>Researches</i> of A. A. Lambing and M. I. J. Griffin, begun 1884, combined with the <i>Records</i> in 1912
A D B	—Archives, Diocese of Brooklyn
A D R	—Archives, Diocese of Rochester
A G U	—Archives, Georgetown University
A M S M C	—Archives, Mount St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg
A Q	—Answers in reply to questionnaires sent by author to pastors and to superiors of religious communities and institutions, 1938-1943
A U N D	—Archives, University of Notre Dame
Bayley	—James Roosevelt Bayley, <i>A Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York</i> (New York, 1853; ed. J. G. Shea, 1870)
B C	— <i>Brooklyn Catholic</i> , weekly newspaper, 1869-1870
B C H S <i>Records</i>	— <i>Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society Records</i> , I (New York, April, 1901)
B C K C R	—William H. Smith, <i>The Brooklyn City and Kings County Record: Budget of General Information with a Map of the City and Almanac</i> (Brooklyn, 1855)
B D	—Alden Spooner, <i>Brooklyn Directory</i> , annually, 1822-1857. Thereafter other Brooklyn Directories, published anonymously
B D E	— <i>Brooklyn Daily Eagle</i> , daily newspaper, 1841-1875; 1937-1953
Bk Cit	— <i>Brooklyn Citizen</i> , daily newspaper, 1880-1890

* Dates of periodicals are those consulted by the author.

- B T* —*Brooklyn Tablet*, Brooklyn diocesan weekly newspaper, 1908-1954
- Cath Exam* —*Catholic Examiner*, weekly newspaper, Brooklyn, 1882-1887. From 1886-1887 it was called *Brooklyn Examiner*
- C D* —*Catholic Directory*, variously entitled, published annually, from 1882 to date, except 1862, 1863
- C H R* —*Catholic Historical Review*, quarterly (Washington, 1915-1953)
- C N* —*Catholic News*, New York archdiocesan weekly newspaper, 1887-1908; 1938-1952
- C R* —*Catholic Review*, weekly newspaper, Brooklyn and New York, 1872-1898
- C Y* —*Catholic Youth*, monthly magazine (Brooklyn, 1881-1892)
- Corrigan —Michael A. Corrigan, "Register of the Clergy Living in the Archdiocese of New York . . .," *H R S*, I-VI (New York, 1900-1911)
- Ellis —John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons* (Milwaukee, 1952), I-II
- F J* —*Freeman's Journal*, weekly newspaper, New York, 1840-1871
- H R S* —*Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society, published annually (New York, 1899-1953)
- L I C H Society* —Long Island Catholic Historical Society, after 1900 called the Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society
- Lord —Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington, *A History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), I-III
- Meehan —Thomas F. Meehan, "The Diocese of Brooklyn," *The Catholic Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1914), III, 525-619
- Merrick —David A. Merrick, S.J., "Recollections of an Old Fellow," *The Fordham Monthly* (December, 1905), pp. 82-88 (January, 1906), pp. 130-136
- Metropolitan* —*The Metropolitan*, monthly magazine, I-V (Baltimore, 1853-1857)
- Mitchell —James H. Mitchell, *The Golden Jubilee Celebration of Rt. Rev. John Loughlin, D.D.* (Brooklyn, 1891)
- Mulrenan —Patrick Mulrenan, *A Brief Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church on Long Island* (New York, 1871)
- Murray —John O'Kane Murray, *A Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (4th ed., New York, 1877)

- NYC Register* —*New York Catholic Register*, weekly newspaper, 1839-1840
- NYT* —*New York Tablet*, weekly newspaper, 1857-1863; 1869-1872
- NYWRCD* —*New York Weekly Register and Catholic Diary*, newspaper, 1833-1836
- press —Unidentified newspaper
- Prime —Nathaniel S. Prime, *A History of Long Island* (New York, 1845)
- R C O A Society —Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society of Brooklyn
- Ross —Peter Ross, *A History of Long Island* (Chicago, 1902), I-III
- Ryan —Leo R. Ryan, *Old St. Peter's, the Mother Church of Catholic New York, 1785-1935* (New York, 1935)
- Sharp —John K. Sharp, *Priests and Parishes of the Diocese of Brooklyn, 1820-1944* (New York, 1944)
- Shea —John Gilmary Shea, *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886-1892), I-IV
- Shea in Stiles —John Gilmary Shea, "Catholic Churches and Institutions in Brooklyn," in Henry R. Stiles, *History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1870), III, 724-741
- Smith —John Talbott Smith, *The History of the Catholic Church in New York* (New York, 1905), I-II
- Star* —*Long Island Star*, weekly newspaper, Brooklyn, 1809-1841, except as daily *Brooklyn Evening Star* in 1827 and 1834; became daily *Brooklyn Evening Star*, 1841-1863
- Stiles —Henry R. Stiles, *History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1867-1870), I-III
- TT* —*Truth Teller*, weekly newspaper, New York, 1825-1840
- USCH Mag* —*United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, quarterly (New York), 1887; 1891-1893
- USC Mag* —*United States Catholic Magazine*, monthly, I-VII (Baltimore, 1842-1848)
- Vallette in Ross —Marc F. Vallette, "The Catholic Church on Long Island," in Peter Ross, *A History of Long Island* (Chicago, 1902), I, 797-868
- Vallette in *USCH Mag* —Marc F. Vallette, "The Diocese of Brooklyn," *USCH Mag*, III (New York, 1890)
- Weld —Ralph Foster Weld, *Brooklyn Village, 1816-1834* (New York, 1938)
- Zwierlein —Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, 1925), I-III

NOTES TO VOLUME ONE

CHAPTER I

1. For Brendan, the Norse, and the Diocese of Gardar, Greenland, the first episcopal see in America, cf. early issues, *HRS* and *CHR*. The literature on these subjects is voluminous. Cf. George A. Little, *Brendan the Navigator* (Dublin, 1946); Edward F. Gray, *Leif Eriksson: Discoverer of America, A.D. 1003* (London, 1930); Hjalmar R. Holand, *America, 1355-1364* (New York, 1946).

2. The J. P. Morgan Library, New York, has an early copy of the original letter. In 1529 Giovanni's brother, Hieronimo, drew a map, now in the Museum of the Propaganda Fidei, Rome, on which New York Bay appears but Long Island is a peninsula. The globe of Pope Marcellus II, made in Rome, 1542, which reproduces that map, is in the New York Historical Society Museum. Cf. B. F. De Costa, "The Globe of Pope Marcellus and Its Relation to the Voyage of Verrazano," *HRS*, III (1903), 29-32; Marc F. Vallette, *BCHS Records*, p. 14; and I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island 1498-1909* (New York, 1915), I, 3-4, and *New York Past and Present, 1524-1939* (New York, 1939), p. xi. These three authors agree that Verrazano entered lower New York Bay in the spring of 1524. Morgan Dix, *A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York* (New York, 1898), I, 4, regards it as "altogether likely" that a priest accompanied Verrazano and that "Religious services of some kind or other were undoubtedly held."

3. Cf. James H. Mitchell, *The Golden Jubilee Celebration of Rt. Rev. John Loughlin, D.D.* (Brooklyn, 1891), p. xviii; John Gilmary Shea, *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886-1892), IV, 490; *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888; *CN*, October 19, 1890; *BDE*, December 30, 1891; Thomas F. Meehan, "The Diocese of Brooklyn," *The Catholic Church in the United States of America* (New York, 1914), III, 525, and "Brooklyn, Diocese of," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 798; Eugene J. Crawford, *Daughters of Dominic on Long Island* (New York, 1938), p. 1. The earliest published reference seen by the author to "Island of the Apostles" occurs in *BC*, September 11, 1869.

4. George Bancroft, *History of the United States of America* (Boston, 1879), I, 27-28, states that Gomez discovered the Hudson River, probably on June 13, 1525, and named it after the saint of the day, St. Anthony of Padua. Stokes, *Iconography*, I, 4, places Gomez near New York about May 1. De Costa,

op.cit., p. 33, after "a quarter of a century of study devoted to the ancient maps of America," found no "Island of the Holy Apostles," and concluded that there was no foundation for the theory that Long Island bore that name. Vallette, reversing his former opinion, concluded (Letter to "Monsignor," March 15, 1918, A D B) that there was "no reliable authority" for the title "Island of the Apostles" having been bestowed upon Long Island. Mitchell and Crawford add that Father Anthony De Montesinos, O.S.D., accompanied the explorers and offered Mass on Long Island. Extensive correspondence with historians and archivists in the United States and abroad failed to elicit any evidence for the validity of this statement.

5. Arthur J. Weisse, *Catalogue of Manuscripts, Excerpta, Prints and Maps for a History of the Borough of Brooklyn* (New York, 1909), p. 40.

6. Cf. Stiles, I, 24, 83-84; B. H. Wabbeke, *Dutch Emigration to North America, 1624-1860* (New York, 1944), p. 49.

7. Daniel Denton, *Brief Description of New York, 1670*, ed. Gabriel Furman (New York, 1845), pp. 2-6.

8. The documentation for the rest of this chapter is drawn mainly from the more accessible secondary printed sources, although the following, among other primary printed sources, were extensively consulted: *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, eds. E. B. O'Callaghan and B. Fernow (Albany, 1853-1887; *Laws of the Colony of New York, 1664-1769*, eds. O'Callaghan-Fernow (Albany, 1894); *Documentary History of the State of New York*, ed. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1849-1851); *History of New Netherlands*, ed. O'Callaghan (2nd ed., New York, 1855); *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherlands, 1638-1674*, ed. O'Callaghan (Albany, 1868); John R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York, 1609-1691* (New York, 1859-1871); *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, ed. E. T. Corwin (Albany, 1901-1916); *Narratives of New Netherlands, 1609-1644*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York, 1909); Thomas Hughes, S.J., *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America: Text* (New York, 1908, 1917); *Documents* (New York, 1908, 1910).

9. Vallette, *BCHS Records*, p. 19. Cf. William Keller, "Sir Edmund Plowden and the Province of New Albion, 1632-1650," *HRS*, XLI (1953), 42-70; O'Callaghan-Fernow, *Documents*, XIV, 57.

10. O'Callaghan-Fernow, *Documents*, XIV, 414; O'Callaghan, *Laws and Ordinances*, p. 304; Corwin, *op.cit.*, I, 420; Stiles, I, 135.

11. John T. Conlon, "The Beginnings of Catholicism in New Netherlands, 1609-1664," *HRS*, XXIII (1933), 216; John M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap., "An Important Chapter in American Church History, 1625-1650," *CHR*, VIII (1928), 520; Lambert Schrott, *Pioneer German Catholics in the American Colonies, 1734-1784* (New York, 1933), pp. 3-4. The *Jaerboekje Alberdingk Thijm, 1893* (Amsterdam, 1893), p. 288, in the library of the University of Chicago, states two Dutch priests received their government's permission to be missionaries to New Netherland Catholics. (Transcript of original documents kindly translated by Henry Brenninkmeyer.) Hughes, *op. cit.*, Text, II, 142, concludes one came.

12. No reply to this letter was found (G. Lanctot, Deputy Minister, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, to author, August 8, 1939). Hughes, *op.cit.*, Text, II, 140, 264, identifies Long Elen as Long Island. Cf. Conlon, *op.cit.*, pp. 216-218. Laval's knowledge of the geography involved was prob-

ably vague. For criticism of interpretation by Hughes of other remarks by Laval, cf. Anna D. Gamble, "An Ancient Mission Among a Great People," *A C H S Records*, LX (September, 1949), 125-143.

13. Schrott, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

14. Stiles, I, 197.

15. *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680*, eds. Bartlett B. James and J. Franklin Jameson (New York, 1913), pp. 50-64.

16. Denton, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

17. O'Callaghan-Fernow, *Documents*, I, 268.

18. Golda G. Stander, "Jesuit Educational Institutions in the City of New York, 1683-1860," *H R S*, XXIV (1934), 215. The English Test Acts of 1673 and 1679 required of civil and military officers an oath of allegiance to the English king, reception of the Protestant lord's supper and a signed declaration against transubstantiation and veneration of the saints.

19. Meehan, "A Dutch Irish Pact," *H R S*, XXXI (1940), 154.

20. John T. Driscoll, "The Charter of Liberties and the New York Assembly of 1683," *H R S*, IV (1906), 33-34.

21. William H. Bennett, *Catholic Footsteps in Old New York, 1524-1808* (New York, 1909), p. 103.

22. D. P. O'Neill, "Liberation of Spanish and Indian Slaves by Governor Dongan," *H R S*, III (1903), 214.

23. Flushing, 1683, and Hempstead, 1684, each gave Dongan 400 acres south of Lake Success on the edge of Hempstead Plains. Cf. map, *B D E*, August 25, 1918.

24. O'Callaghan-Fernow, *Documents*, II, 127.

25. Cf. John H. Kennedy, *Thomas Dongan, Governor of New York, 1682-1688* (Washington, 1930).

26. Edward J. McGuire, "An Historical Sketch of the Relations of State and Church in New York," *H R S*, II (1900), 112. Cf. Corwin, *op.cit.*, II, 991; O'Callaghan-Fernow, *Documents*, 1688-1689, III, and *Laws of the Colony of New York, 1755-1769*, I, 247-248.

27. Bennett, *op.cit.*, p. 78. Cf. Stander, *op.cit.*, p. 218; O'Callaghan-Fernow, *Documents*, III, 415; cf. I, 116; III, 410.

28. The figures for Kings in 1698 were: Brooklyn, including the Wall-about and Ferry, 515; Bushwick, 301; New Utrecht, 259; Gravesend, 210; Flatbush, 476; Flatlands, 256 (O'Callaghan-Fernow, *Documents*, IV, 420).

29. John Miller, *New York Considered and Improved, 1695*, ed. V. H. Paltsits (Cleveland, 1903), p. 54.

30. Edward J. McGuire, *op.cit.*, p. 114.

31. Bennett, *op.cit.*, p. 215.

32. *Journal of the Proceedings on the New York Conspiracy, or a History of the Negro Plot . . . 1741-42*, ed. Daniel Horsmanden (2nd ed., New York, 1810), p. 315. Cf. Chandler, *American Criminal Trials* (Boston, 1844), I, 222; Hughes, *op.cit.*, Text, II, 185; "The Trial of John Ury," *A C H S Researches*, XVI (1905), 2-58.

33. For treatment of Catholics in the Colonial period and in the years of transition to a national state, cf. J. Franklin Jameson, "The America Acta Sanctorum," *American Historical Review*, XIII (January, 1908), 298; Simeon E. Baldwin, "Religion Still the Key to History," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XII (January, 1907), 219-243; Peter Guilday, *An Introduction to Church History* (St.

Louis, 1925), p. 284; Arthur J. Riley, *Catholicism in Colonial New England, 1620-1788* (Washington, 1936); Joseph F. Thorning, *Religious Liberty in Transition* (New York, 1931).

34. Sanford H. Cobb, *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America* (New York, 1902), p. 451.

35. Sister Mary A. Ray, B.V.M., *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1936), p. 44. Cf. Cobb, *op.cit.*, p. 62.

36. Peter Guilday, *The Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, 1922), p. 60. Cf. Edwin A. Burton, *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner, 1691-1781* (New York, 1909), II, 123-148.

37. The Catholic given names of Mary in church records and of Patrick and Brigid among landowners—without Irish surnames—are frequent.

38. Bennett, *op.cit.*, pp. 234-235.

39. More information and bibliography may be found in John K. Sharp, "The Acadian Confessors on Long Island, 1756-1764," *H R S*, XXXIII (1944), 57-76.

40. "Relation of John Baptiste Galerm on the Misfortunes of the French Neutrals," *A C H S Researches*, VIII (January, 1891), 38-40; "Petition of Acadians . . . in 1757," *A C H S Researches*, XI (January, 1894), 7-10.

41. Stiles, II, 120; III, 526; Brooklyn Historical Collections, Brooklyn Borough Hall, box 46, MS. 147, p. 204.

42. *Journal of the Votes and Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Colony of New York*, II, 1743-1765 (Albany, 1766), pp. 550 ff. Cf. *New York Gazette*, July 19, 1756; *New York Mercury*, August 31, 1762.

43. Sharp, pp. 72-73.

44. Meehan, III, 526.

45. Bancroft, *op.cit.*, IV, 416; also 11th ed. (1872), VII, 159. Cf. Charles H. Metzger, *The Quebec Act* (New York, 1936), p. 126, for growth of Washington's more liberal attitude.

46. Shea, II, 148 ff.

47. A. C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution* (New York, 1901), p. 89. Cf. J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton, 1926).

48. Charles H. Metzger, "Some Catholic Tories in the American Revolution," *C H R*, XXXV (1949), 276-300; XXXVI (1950), 408-427. Cf. M. I. J. Griffin, "Catholics Alone Loyal?" *A C H S Researches*, XIX (January, 1902), 8-10.

49. Michael J. O'Brien, "The First Regiment of the Pennsylvania Line," *The Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, XXI (New York, 1922), 111-117; *A Hidden Phase of American History* (New York, 1919), p. 145; and Hercules Mulligan, *Confidential Correspondent to George Washington* (New York, 1937), p. 84; W. H. Bennett, *Handbook to Catholic Historical New York City* (New York, 1927), p. 110; T. W. Field, *Battle of Long Island* (Brooklyn, 1869), passim; M. P. Johnston, *Campaign of 1776 Around New York and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1878), passim.

50. Victor J. Dowling, "Irish Pioneers in New York," *Jour Am-Irish Hist Soc*, VIII (Providence, 1909), 134, passim; *Star*, July 1, 1812; *Valentine's Manual of the Common Council of the Corporation of the City of New York* (New York, 1851), p. 419; John D. Crimmins, "Patriots Bearing Irish Names

Who were Imprisoned Aboard the *Jersey Prison Ship*," *Jour Am-Irish Hist Soc*, VI (Boston, 1906), 21-30; *Long Island Historical Society Quarterly*, January, 1939, April, 1940; W. H. Bennett, "Some Pre-Civil War Irish Militia Men of Brooklyn, New York," *Jour Am-Irish Hist Soc*, XXI (New York, 1922), 172-180; Cf. articles, M. J. O'Brien, *Jour Am-Irish Hist Soc*, XXVI (1927), 21-203.

51. O'Brien, *Hidden Phase*, pp. 74 ff; and *George Washington's Associations with the Irish* (New York, 1937); Thomas P. Phelan, "Sergeant Andrew Wallace . . .," *H R S*, XX (1931), 166-172; "Notes and Comment," *H R S*, XIII (1919), 164-168; Sister M. Ceslas Normand, O.P., "Financial Contributions of the French Clergy . . . 1780," *H R S*, XXV (1935), 163-208; Charles H. McCarthy, "The Attitude of Spain During the American Revolution," *C H R*, II (1916), 47-65.

52. *Rivington's Gazette*, March 17, 1779; March 18, 1780; *C N*, March 14, 1908; *B T*, March 17, 1928; Metzger, *op.cit.*, fn. 48 *supra*; M. I. J. Griffin, "Catholic Loyalists of the Revolution," *A C H S Researches* VI (1889), 77-88.

53. Henry Onderdonck, Jr., *Revolutionary Incidents of Suffolk and Kings Counties* (New York, 1849), p. 258; M. I. J. Griffin, *Catholics and the American Revolution* (Philadelphia, 1907-1909), I, 112.

54. John G. Coyle, "Catholic Signers of the Constitution," *H R S*, XI (1917), 47 ff.

55. Frederick J. Zwierlein, "The Catholic Church in New York State," *History of the State of New York*, ed. A. C. Flick (New York, 1937), IX, 167; Ryan, p. 16; W. H. Bennett, "Francis Cooper, New York's First Catholic Legislator," *H R S*, XII (1918), 32; Peter Condon, "Constitutional Freedom of Religion and the Revivals of Religious Intolerance," *H R S*, II (1900), 401; Clarence E. Martin, "The American Judiciary and Religious Liberty," *C H R*, VIII (1928), 14; Daniel C. Donoghue, "Federal Constitutional Provisions With Respect to Religion," *A C H S Records*, XXXIX (1928), 1-27; Ray, *op.cit.*, p. 357; Cobb, *op.cit.*, p. 502; Shea, II, 156.

56. Shea, II, 351.

57. *Address to the Roman Catholics of the United States against the Apostate Priest Charles Wharton*, cited by Louis O'Donovan, "John Carroll," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, III, 383. Cf. Thomas O'Gorman, *A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1895), p. 255; Shea, II, 227; Guilday, *Carroll*, pp. 116 ff.

58. Jules A. Baisnée, S.S., in *France and the Establishment of the Catholic American Hierarchy: The Myth of French Interference* (Baltimore, 1934), disproves charge of undue French influence. Cf. Shea, II, 219; Guilday, *Carroll*, pp. 178-201, 212-214.

59. Guilday, *Carroll*, pp. 59, 214, 230.

60. Of 18,317 titles printed in the colonies by 1784, 47 were by Catholics. Cf. Charles Evans, ed., *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of All Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States . . . 1639 . . . 1820* (Chicago, 1903-1934); Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., *Early Catholic Americana, 1729-1830* (New York, 1939). *The Adventures of Alonso* by the Maryland Catholic Thomas A. Digges (1741-1821), published in London, 1775, was the first American novel. It was republished, New York, 1943. The first Catholic catechism printed in the United States appeared at Boston in 1785. Mathew Carey, the first important American publisher, pub-

lished at Philadelphia in 1790 the first Catholic Bible. Cf. Charles G. Herbermann, "An Interesting Relic," *HR S*, IV (1906), 319. *The Bay Psalm Book* (Cambridge, 1640) was the first book printed in the colonies. The *Doctrina Breve*, a catechism, published in Mexico City, 1544, was republished, Monograph XI, United States Catholic Historical Society, New York, 1928.

61. D. P. O'Neill, "Petition of the German Catholics of the City of New York," *HR S*, II (1901), 194; "Petition of the German Catholics of New York, 1808," *A C H S Researches*, IX (1892), 63; N. A. Weber, S.M., "The Rise of National Catholic Churches in the United States," *CH R*, I (1916), 431.

62. The author is indebted to Reverend Francis P. Havey, S.S., for many documented notes on this subject.

63. "John Grassi's *Memorial* of 1818," *A C H S Researches*, VIII (April, 1891). Cf. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., "The Catholic Church in America in 1819," *CH R*, V (1920), 301 ff; Guilday, *op.cit.*, pp. 828 ff.

64. Shea, II, 72, 264. Farmer came from Suabia to Pennsylvania in 1752 and died there in 1786. He was a member of the Royal Society of London, American Philosophical Society, and a Trustee of the University of Pennsylvania.

65. Shea, II, 202, 264; Corwin, *op.cit.*, III, 1449; Hughes, *op.cit.*, Text, II, 694; Ryan, p. 34.

66. Ryan, p. 56.

67. *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 40; Norbert H. Miller, O.M.Cap., "Pioneer Capuchin Missionaries in the United States, 1784-1816," *HR S*, XXI (1932), 182.

69. Ryan, p. 50.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 54; Shea, II, 324.

71. Sibourd to Carroll, October 3, 1805; Mathias Kelly to Carroll about Byrne on Long Island (A A B). The author is indebted to Leo R. Ryan for use of his transcript of William S. McLoughlin's *Churches, Schools and Priests in New York, 1783-1832*. For its whereabouts, cf. "Notes and Comment," *HR S*, XXXVII (1948), 88-89.

72. Louis J. Walsh, "Life Among the Early Irish Immigrants," *Catholic World*, CLIV (March, 1942), 716 ff.

73. Carroll, Philadelphia, to James Barry, New York, September 8, 1803, *A C H S Researches*, VIII (October 18, 1890), 185; Carroll, Baltimore, to Barry, c/o Joshua Sands, New York, November 22, 1805, *A C H S Researches*, III (January, 1887), 36. Barry was friendly with Mrs. Seton (*A C H S Researches*, IX [July, 1892], 117). Sands owned ropewalks near St. James' Church. Cf. Shea, II, 508-509.

74. Trustees' Minute Book, St. Peter's Church, 1789-1810 (A A N Y). Ryan, pp. 236 ff; Meehan, "A Self-Effaced Philanthropist," *CH R*, IV (1918), 9; Meehan, "John Jacob Astor's Partner," *America*, XLI (1929), 82-83.

75. Cited by Meehan, "Tales of Old New York," *HR S*, XXIX (1938), 111-112. Cf. Robert Seton, *Memoir, Letters & Journal of Elizabeth Seton* (New York, 1869) I, 48 ff; II, 16; Charles I. White, *Life of Mother Elizabeth Seton* (3rd ed., New York, 1879), p. 44; Madame de Barberey, *Elizabeth Seton*, tr. J. B. Code (New York, 1927), p. 195; J. B. Code, *Letters of Mother Seton to Mrs. Juliana Scott* (Emmitsburg, 1935), pp. 218 ff; Arthur J. Burns, "New Light on Mother Seton," *HR S*, XXII (1932), 85; Annabelle M. Melville, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton, 1774-1821* (New York, 1951); *Medical Times*, Novem-

ber, 1923; *C N*, August 6, 1938; Sister Mary Agnes McCann, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters, The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati* (New York, 1917-1923).

CHAPTER II

1. J. F. Regis Canevin, "Loss and Gain in the Catholic Church in the United States, 1800-1916," *C H R*, II (1917), 384. Cf. Peter Guilday, *Life and Times of John England* (New York, 1927), I, 7 ff.

2. Shea, II, 621 ff; V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., "Rt. Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., The First Bishop of New York (1747-1810)," *C H R*, I (1916), 400 ff, and "Concanen's Election to the See of New York," *C H R*, II (1917), 19 ff. Cf. Vincent R. Hughes, *Rt. Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O.P., First Bishop of New York* (Freiburg, 1926). Guilday, "Trusteeism," *H R S*, XVIII (1928), 44; Daniel J. Connors, "Archbishop Troy and the American Church," *H R S*, XXII (1932), 168.

3. Cf. Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., "Rev. Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., 1771-1824," *C H R*, IV (1918), 38-51. Golda G. Stander, "Jesuit Educational Institutions in the City of New York, 1683-1860," *H R S*, XXIV (1934), 239; Edward J. McGuire, "The Elgin Botanic Gardens and the New York Literary Institute," *H R S*, IV (1906), 333.

4. Ryan, p. 118.

5. McGuire, *op.cit.*, p. 338; Meehan, "Some Pioneer Catholic Laymen in New York," *H R S*, IV (1906), 294-295; John M. Farley, *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral* (New York, 1908), pp. ix-xvi; "Notes and Comment," *H R S*, XXXI (1940), 157.

6. McGuire, "An Historical Sketch of the Relations of Church and State in New York," *H R S*, II (1900), 120; Stander, *op.cit.*, p. 239; Parsons, "Kohlmann," p. 44.

7. Sister Mary Christina Sullivan, S.U.S.C., "Some Non-Permanent Religious Foundations . . . (1793-1850)," *H R S*, XXXI (1940), 38-43.

8. McGuire, "Historical Sketch," p. 120; Ryan, pp. 107-111; Meehan, "The Centenary of American Catholic Fiction," *H R S*, XIX (1929), 61; Parsons, "Kohlmann," p. 46; Murray, p. 274. Robert J. White, "Confession and the Law," part II, *Ecclesiastical Review* (September, 1937), covers the Kohlmann case. Tom Paine, whose conversion was attempted by Kohlmann, spent his last years in Brooklyn. Cf. Stiles, II, 87; *Star*, June 15, 1809.

9. Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* (New York, 1925), pp. 49 ff.

10. Meehan, "New York's First Irish Emigrant Society," *H R S*, VI (1913), part II, 202; *T T*, April 2, June 11, 1825; *Star*, December 10, 1817.

11. Guilday, *England*, I, 17 ff; Richard J. Purcell, "Immigration from the Canal Era to the Civil War," *History of the State of New York*, ed. A. C. Flick (New York, 1935), VII, 46.

12. Purcell, *op.cit.*, pp. 47 ff.

13. *T T*, June 10, 1826.

14. Guilday, *England*, II, 429. Cf. *Star*, September 23, 1824.

15. Bayley, pp. 91-92.

16. Parsons, "The Catholic Church in America in 1819," *C H R*, V (1920), 301, citing "John Grassi's Memorial of 1818." Cf. Charles G. Herbermann,

"Rt. Rev. John Dubois, Third Bishop of New York," *HRS*, I (1900), 348-355; *The Laity's Directory* . . . 1822.

17. Guilday, "Trusteeism," *HRS*, XVIII (1928), 47.

18. Meehan, "Catholic Literary New York, 1800-1840," *CHR*, IV (1919), 399 ff. By 1821 some 295 books by Catholic authors had been published in the United States. Cf. Joseph M. Finotti, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (Boston, 1872); Wilfrid Parsons, *Early Catholic Americana, 1729-1830* (New York, 1939).

19. It failed to notice the congregation organized in Brooklyn that year. Cf. Joseph H. Meier, "The Official Catholic Directory," *CHR*, I (1915), 299 ff; Eugene P. Willging, "The Catholic Directories," *CHR*, XX (1934), 281 ff.

20. A parish derives its rights, not from the lay members who compose it, but from the fact that it is an integral part of the Catholic Church. Not the parishioners, but the parish itself as part of the juridical person of the Church owns the parish plant. Cf. Patrick J. Dignan, *A History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States, 1784-1932* (New York, 1935), pp. 264, 267-268. Cf. Guilday, "Trusteeism," p. 7. The pertinent Canons in the Code of Canon Law are nos. 100, 216, 1414, 1495, 1518.

21. *ACHS Records*, LVI (1945), 258; Guilday "Trusteeism," p. 73; Ryan, pp. 132 ff; Frederick J. Zwierlein, "The Catholic Church in New York State," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1937), IX, 173-174; Shea, III, 178-180. Cf. fn. 2, *supra*.

22. Guilday, "Trusteeism," pp. 59-60. Cornelius Heeney and many other respectable men were not an Irish rabble. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 51; Lord, I, 786.

23. Bayley, p. 85.

24. Guilday, *Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, 1922), p. 643.

25. *Idem, England*, I, 31.

26. Photostat copies, Dominican House of Studies, Washington, D. C.

27. *New York Gazette*, cited by Smith, I, 68.

28. Silas Wood, *A Sketch of the First Settlement of the Several Towns on Long Island* (Brooklyn, 1826), p. 92; *Star*, especially July 31, 1811; September 22, 1825; *BD*, 1826; State and Federal Censuses.

29. *BD*, 1822; *BCKCR*; Stiles, II, 17; Gabriel Furman, *Antiquities of Long Island*, ed. Frank Moore (New York, 1875), p. 365. Furman's book contains "Antiquities" pp. 1-271, and "Notes Relating to Brooklyn," pp. 273-478, first published by Spooner, 1825.

30. *Star*, September 1, 1825.

31. *Suffolk Gazette*, March 12, 1804; November 26, 1808; Stiles, II, 34, 198, 216.

32. Stiles, III, 532 ff; W. W. Pasko, *In Old New York* (New York, 1889), 1, 200; Ross, I, 399-408.

33. Lionel Lindsay, "The Pastoral Visitation of Bishop Plessis of Quebec, A. D. 1815," *ACHS Records*, XV (December, 1904), 393.

34. *Star*, September 1, 1825.

35. Furman, Manuscript Notes, (13 vols. variously entitled, 1821-1854), II, 49-50; Stiles, II, 211, 220.

36. Paul J. Foik, *Pioneer Catholic Journalism* (New York, 1930), p. 15. Cf. *Star*, May 16, 1811.

37. *Star*, August 24, 1814. Cf. Stiles, I, 403-404; Ross, I, 259; H. I. Hazel-

ton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens and Counties of Nassau and Suffolk, 1609-1924* (New York, 1925), III, 1668; Purcell, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

38. In New York John attended Derry's, then T. S. Brady's school. Heeney sponsored his going to Mount St. Mary's College in 1821 or 1822, and to the seminary in 1829. Cf. Furman, *op.cit.*, VIII, 291-292; *Star*, April 2, 1817; Shea, IV, 490; Ross, I, 421; Stiles, II, 155; *The Eagle and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1893), p. 348; Records, I, 21, St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Brooklyn; *A C H S Researches*, X (1899), 420; Mary M. Meline and E. F. X. McSweeney, *The Story of the Mountain* (Emmitsburg, 1911), I, 101; A G U, 247.1; Pasko, *op.cit.*, I, 244; *Catholic Builders of the Nation* (Boston, 1923), IV, 332; Meehan, "Pioneer Times in Brooklyn," *H R S*, II (1900), 174; Meehan, "Some Schools in Old New York," *H R S*, II (1900), 434; Mitchell, p. xxi; *C R*, March 20, April 17, June 26, 1875; November 29, 1884; February 3, 1894; *B D E*, February 11, 1940; testimony, Marriott McKinney to L I C H Society, April 13, 1894 (A D B); *C Y*, January, 1884; A A N Y, A-37; Merrick; Stiles II, 166; John M. Farley, "Cardinal McCloskey," *H R S*, I, (1899), 48, and *The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey* (New York, 1918), pp. 17, 20 ff.

39. *Star*, July 8, 1824.

40. *Ibid.*, July 1, August 10, 19, October 14, 28, 1824; January 27, July 7, 1825; Stiles, II, 133.

41. *Star*, November 19, 1817; Weld, p. 191.

42. *Star*, November 30, 1809; March 25, 1818.

43. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1822; May 1, 1823; Weld, p. 316.

44. *Star*, February 14, 21, 1822; December 30, 1824; May 1, 1825.

45. In Brooklyn, in 1800, were John Garner of Armagh and, in 1801, Patrick Noon. In 1809 Michael Hogan and John Gibbons each held school; in 1810, P. Kennedy; in 1811, Peter McGowan. In Flatlands John Baxter and his son Garrett taught from 1790 to 1830. In 1790 Baxter senior wrote in his Journal: "1790 March 17 St. Patrick's Day. . . I paraded 50 scholars in front of the house." In Flatbush were Patrick Dillon in 1798, Patrick Noon from Brooklyn and Hugh McGarron in 1802, John Burns in 1804, and Hugh McGarron the same year and again from 1811 to 1816; in 1814 the classical scholar Valentine Derry at Erasmus, and in 1818 John Mulligan. At Bushwick were James Foley, 1779 to 1780, James O'Connor from 1781 to 1787 and, 1787 also, Walter Dunleavy. To Bedford came Mathias O'Connor in 1800, while some of Newton's youngsters were taught by John Kearns in 1780; by Walter Dunleavy, later of Bedford, in 1800; and in 1809 by Richard Thompson, John Brannon, and Edward Cassidy. At Jamaica in 1793 was Ryan, "a fine scholar," and at Jerusalem, John Garner of Armagh. Bernard McKenna taught in a Long Island school 30 miles from New York, 1809-1811. He married a Quakeress, but bigotry drove him back to New York. *Star*, June 22, September 7, 28, October 12, 1809; April 24, August 9, 31, 1810; March 28 to April 18, 1811; Thomas M. Strong, *History of the Town of Flatbush* (New York, 1842), p. 157; Extracts from the Journal of John Baxter, Flatlands, 1792-1830 (typescript copy, Long Island Historical Society); Stiles, passim; Stiles, *History of the County of Kings* (New York, 1884), I, II, passim; James Riker, *The Annals of Newtown* (New York, 1852), p. 155; Newtown Town Records (typescript copy, Queensboro Public Library); Richard J. Purcell, "Irish Cultural Contribution in Early New York," *Catholic Educational Review* (October, 1937),

p. 436; (January, 1938), p. 28. Many references are in the issues of the *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, in the *Star*, and in town records.

46. Among the Frenchmen were Daniel De Vinne, Peter Journella, Aime Barbarin, Peter Chazotte, John Delarue, and Messrs. Dupuis, Duponchel, Dupuier, and Falligant. They were attracted by the several notables who had preceded them to Brooklyn: François de Barbé Marbois, Moreau de Saint Méry, Talleyrand, Admiral Pierre Landais, the Venezuelan Miranda, and others. Stiles, II, 63, Weld, p. 208; *Star*, passim; *Moreau de St. Méry's American Journal, 1793-1798*, tr. and ed. Kenneth and Ann Roberts (New York, 1947).

47. *Star*, November 12, 1817.

48. *B D*, 1822; Stiles, II, 13; Weld, pp. 188, 222; Ross, I, 266, 404.

49. *Star*, March 7, 1821.

50. *Ibid.*, July 23, 30, 1817.

51. *Ibid.*, August 27, September 10, 17, 24, October 1, 8, November 12, 1817. Cf. Murray, p. 559. An unknown Higgins published this first Barclay Street volume (Meehan, "Catholic Literary New York," *CH R*, IV [1919], 409). William Riley had a printing house in Flatbush in 1810; William F. Boyle sold theological, medical, and school books in 1815 (*Star*, August 24, 1809; August 12, December 14, 1810; October 4, 11, 1815).

52. Samuel Coate, overseer of Methodist Societies in lower Canada, wrote it to refute Richards who had left Methodism to become a priest. Cf. Smith, I, 112-114.

53. *Star*, July 6, November 30, 1809; October 11, 1810.

54. Long Island's first paper was Frothingham's *Long Island Herald*, published at Sag Harbor, 1791-1798. Alden Spooner published the *Suffolk Gazette* at Sag Harbor, 1804-1811, then moved to Brooklyn. His daughter Katherine became a Catholic (Scannell O'Neill, "Some Mayflower Converts," *H R S*, XV [1921], 84; Stiles, III, 928; A. S. Huling, *The Ancestry of Alden Spooner* [Topeka, 1909]). Birch founded the Democratic *Long Island Patriot* 1821. James Bennett bought it, 1832, and called it the *Brooklyn Advocate* (Stiles, III, 931). Cf. Weld, passim.

55. *Star*, October 9, 1823.

56. The 1820 census listed 657 free Negroes and 190 slaves in Brooklyn township in a total population of 7,175 (Weld, p. 274). Cf. Weld, *Brooklyn Is America* (New York, 1950), p. 157.

57. Stiles, II, 223. Cf. *Star*, March 15, April 9, 1817; March 27, 1816.

58. Stiles, II, 13; Hazelton, *op.cit.*, III, 1419; Ross, I, 585, 594; Weld, p. 33; *Star*, October 7, 1824.

59. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1815; Furman, Manuscript Notes, II, 95; Weld, p. 94; Stiles, II, 13.

60. *Star*, May 7, 1822. Cf. Stiles, II, 25; Weld, p. 222.

61. *B D*, 1822; Weld, p. 95; Cf. Frank Monaghan, "The Results of the Revolution," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1933), IV, 346, for bad conditions in 1789.

62. The Dutch Reformed Church stood in Joralemon Street. St. Ann's Episcopal Church, on Sands Street, was incorporated in 1794. The Methodist Church opened on Sands Street in 1794. The African Methodist Episcopal Church seceded from it in 1816. The Presbyterian Church, organized in 1822, opened its Cranberry Street church in 1823. The Baptist Church, organized

in 1819, opened its first church in 1826 on Pearl Street. The first Brooklyn synagogue was built at Boerum Place and State Street in 1862. Cf. Weld; also Weld, *Brooklyn Is America*, passim.

63. Stiles, I, 377; II, 219; III, 653; Weld, pp. 58, 62, 282, fn. 25.

64. *Star*, June 6, November 2, 28, 1822; August 28, 1823.

65. According to Stiles, I, 378, 450.

66. Eugene Armbruster, *The Olympia Settlement in Early Brooklyn*, N. Y. (Brooklyn, 1929); James H. Callender, *Yesterdays on Brooklyn Heights* (New York, 1927); Stiles, I, 381, 385; II, 34 ff.

67. Typed copy of Assessment Book is in L I H Society. Cf. also *Star*, August 12, December 14, 1810; January 5, October 4, 11, November 16, 1814; August 13, 1817. Cf. in Brooklyn Hall of Records, Records, Courts of Pleas, Flatbush, 1800-1818; Court Records, Kings County, 1785-1836; Brooklyn Historical Collection, cases 22, 38, 85.

68. Stiles, II, 206; *Star*, November 2, 16, 1809; Furman, Manuscript Notes, II, 378-379.

69. *Star*, July 6, 1810; April, 1811; April 8, 1812; October 1, 19, 1814; April 2, October, 1817; October, 1821; July 1, 1825.

70. It is inaccurate to describe this Irish proportion as "only a sprinkling of Celts" prior to 1823, as does Purcell, *op.cit.*, p. 44. Weld, p. 289, should have discovered more than 60 to 65 unmistakably Celtic householders in *BD*, 1822. Cf. Sister M. Natalena Farrelly, C.S.J., *Thomas Francis Meehan, 1854-1942* (New York, 1944), p. 41.

71. Meehan, III, 526; *St. James' Centennial* (Brooklyn, 1922), p. 35.

72. The Register of Baptisms, 1792-1865, First Dutch Reformed Church of Brooklyn, reveals eleven members and five baptisms with Irish names to the year 1828. The Baptismal Records, 1793-1872, of the Reformed Dutch Protestant Church of Flatbush had three such baptisms and three such members for a similar period. The Records, 1780-1832 (communicants, baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and funerals), of St. Anne's Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, show six Irish names up to 1797 and about 60 to 1832. The Registers of Names, 1798-1816; of Baptisms, 1796-1812; and of Marriages, 1802-1835, of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Brooklyn record some 40 Irish names. The Membership Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, 1822-1837, reveal 29 such names to 1830. In the above records were many thousands of entries. The same negative information resulted from a study of many similar church records throughout Long Island.

CHAPTER III

1. The "Statistics," in A G U, 31.8, contain some 600 words and run from January 7, 1822, to April 17, 1825. Shea published them in the *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, III (New York, 1887), 298-301 (republished in *A C H S Researches*, XVIII, 29-31). He noted that Bishop Loughlin made them available to him and they were not in Turner's hand. Meehan published excerpts from them in "Pioneer Times in Brooklyn," *HRS*, II (1901), 174-175, and stated they came from the Trustees' Book of St. James' Parish.

2. Corrigan, "Register of the Clergy Laboring in the Archdiocese of New

York . . .," *H R S*, II (1901), 42; Peter Guilday, *Life and Times of John England* (New York, 1927), *passim*.

3. Shea, III, 125, fn. 127, and Lord, I, 700-732, spell the name Lariscy. Further references to Lariscy may be found in *A C H S Researches*, III, 12-18; IX, 446; XI, 23; XIII, 170; XIV, 504 ff; XVII, 74 ff; XXVI, 39; XXVII, 157-160.

4. Meehan, "A Self-Effaced Philanthropist: Cornelius Heeney, 1754-1848," *C H R*, IV (1918), 12, says 1820; T. J. Reardon, "A Century of Catholic Progress," *H R S*, XVI (1924), 82, says 1821; Shea, III, 125, notes Lariscy's Boston entries extend from November 1, 1817, to July 21, 1821. Cf. fn. 49, *infra*.

5. The circular in A G U, 31.8, was published by Shea, *U S C H Mag* (1887), p. 298, who attributes it to Turner and states he was indebted to Bishop Loughlin for it. Reproduced by Meehan with typographical differences in "Pioneer Times," p. 175, and in *Cath Ch U S*, III, 527.

6. The minutes of this meeting were written by Turner on the reverse side of his circular, says Meehan, "Pioneer Times," p. 176; *St. James' Centennial* (Brooklyn, 1922); and *B T*, April 21, 1934.

7. Statistics; Shea, in Stiles, III, 725; *C Y*, October 19, 1890; and Meehan in *B T*, April 21, 1934, and in "Pioneer Times," p. 177, state 70 persons. Meehan in *Cath Ch U S*, III, 527, states 70 families.

8. *B D*, 1822.

9. Stiles, II, 124; Ross, II, 92; Harold C. Syrett, *The City of Brooklyn, 1865-1898* (New York, 1944), p. 57 ff.

10. *Star*, August 30, September 13, 1827.

11. Meehan, "Some Catholic Names in the United States Navy List," *H R S*, VI (1911), part I, 160.

12. George, pastor of the Church of the Nativity, New York, became vicar general of the diocese of Louisville; died 1890. John, president of Mount St. Mary's College, 1872-1877, 1880; died 1880. William George, professor at Mount St. Mary's; first rector, North American College, Rome, 1859-1867; consecrated as bishop of Louisville, 1868; died 1909. Cf. Meehan, "Pioneer Times," p. 183; F. X. Reuss, *Biographical Encyclopedia of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States, 1784-1798* (Milwaukee, 1898); Archives, Nazareth College, Nazareth, Kentucky.

13. Joseph W. Carroll, "Beginning of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society," *B C H S Records*, p. 40; Meehan, paper read at L I C H Society meeting, March 12, 1894 (A D B) and in "Pioneer Times," p. 183; Ross, I, 295, 600.

14. J. C. Wise, *Colonel John Wise of England and Virginia, 1617-1695* (Richmond, 1918), p. 135; Stiles, II, 112; *B D*, 1822; *Star*, May 2, 1822; January 1, 1824.

15. *Star*, November 25, 1824. The hierarchy at Baltimore forbade Catholics to join the Masons, but some retained membership, probably because of inadequate promulgation. Cf. Fergus Macdonald, C.P., *The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States* (New York, 1946), p. 4.

16. "Catholicism would have been successfully established if he had never been stationed at the Navy Yard," writes Weld, p. 87. Cf. Meehan, book review, *America*, February 18, 1939.

17. Meehan, paper read L I C H Society meeting, March 12, 1894;

Hearne's Brooklyn Directory, 1853-1854 (Brooklyn, 1854), p. 58; *B C*, September 23, 30, 1869; *C R*, July 12, 1873; July 24, 1880; November 21, 1891; *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888.

18. This section from Sands Street south to Myrtle Avenue was razed for the Brooklyn Bridge approach. Cf. Stiles, II, 91; *Atlas*, 1855, 1869, and 1887 in Brooklyn Hall of Records.

19. *Star*, February 28, 1822; March 20, 1823.

20. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1822.

21. A notice, "Valuable property at Brooklyn for Sale," dated New York, March 27, 1823, and signed "Cornelius Heeney," stated: "The dwelling house, outhouses and gardens lately occupied by Daniel Dempsey, . . . and now by William Mullen, known by the name of Blooming Grove Gardens, will be sold at Public Auction, at the Steam Boat Hotel, kept by A. Young, in the Village of Brooklyn, on Thursday, the 19th day of April next, at 1 o'clock in the afternoon." Cf. *Star*, March 7 to June 12, 1823.

22. Gabriel Furman, "Notes on Brooklyn, New York, 1821-1823" (typed copy, L. I. Historical Society), p. 83; Shea in Stiles, III, 725; H. A. Lees, *Historical Sketches of the Churches of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1850), p. 23.

23. The two indentures were made March 1, 1822, and recorded March 5, 1822. Cf. Appendix for copy of Conveyances, Liber 13, p. 138, Hall of Records, Brooklyn. Chapel Street, the northern boundary, variously spelled then, was so named before the land was bought. The nameless southern boundary became Cathedral Place. Barbarin, now Lawrence Street, was the eastern boundary, and Jay Street the western. Moser, a Methodist, was active in business and politics.

24. Each indenture states \$400 was paid and mentions no mortgage. The Statistics, and Vallette in *USCH Mag*, III, 290, and in Ross, I, 799, state \$500 was paid and a mortgage given for the balance. Dissimilar accounts by Meehan in *St. James' Centennial* and in "Pioneer Times," pp. 177-178.

25. Map, 695, Brooklyn Hall of Records.

26. Gabriel Furman, *Antiquities of Long Island* (New York, 1875), pp. 141-142.

27. Gabriel Furman, "Notes on Brooklyn," pp. 20, 111. Born in Brooklyn, 1800, Furman became a state senator and Brooklyn's antiquarian. He had a dozen 16th-century Catholic volumes among the 60 religious titles in his library. He was alternately attracted and repelled from 1820 to 1854 by what he thought was the Catholic Church. Cf. his Manuscript Notes, I, 13 ff; II, 56, et seq.; III, 80; VII, 398; Miscellanies (1854), p. 192; "Notes on Brooklyn," p. 111.

28. *Star*, May 2, 1822. A pontifical Whig utterance against Irish Jacksonian Democrats?

29. *Ibid.*, May 2, 9, 16, 1822. Father Thomas C. Levins arrived in New York from Liverpool on July 14, 1822. Two days later he visited and described the "chapel" foundations as being 80 x 40 feet. (Diary, 1822-1841, in A G U, 69.1). Cf. Shea, III, fns. 185, 186.

30. *B D*, 1822.

31. *Star*, July 4, 1822. Walton, a master joiner, lived on York Street near Gold.

32. Furman, Manuscript Notes, II, 398; "Notes on Brooklyn," p. 186; and *Antiquities*, pp. 141-142; Stiles, II, 200.
33. *Star*, August 1, 1822. Cf. *Star*, July 18, 1822.
34. *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888. The *Star*, November 27, 1823, reported "a new Roman Catholic Church is in progress." Furman, March, 1824, reported it as "yet unfinished" (cited by Meehan, "Pioneer Times," p. 179).
35. Statistics.
36. *Star*, August 28, 1823.
37. Statistics; *Star*; Meehan, III, 535, in "A Self-Effaced Philanthropist," *CH R*, IV (1918), 12, and in "Pioneer Times," p. 180; Shea citing Statistics in *US C H Mag*, I (1887), 300; and Vallette in *US C H Mag*, III, 291, agree on the date, August 28. But Shea, III, 185, and in *A C H S Researches*, XVIII (1901), 29, states August 26.
38. Furman, "Notes on Brooklyn," p. 186.
39. Thomas C. Middleton, O.S.A., "An Early Catholic Settlement," *A C H S Records*, X (1899), 19, 63-76, 147; Shea, III, 184.
40. *Star*, September 4, 1823.
41. *B D*, 1823; Furman, *Antiquities*, pp. 83, 141, 142, 385; *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888. Andrew Denarest was builder; P. Smith, carpenter; Smith Morehouse furnished pews. H. A. Lees, *Historical Sketches* . . . (Brooklyn, 1850), p. 23; Lees, *City of Churches Illuminated* (Brooklyn, 1850), p. 23.
42. V.g., The Dutch Cemetery, Fulton Street near Smith; Deborah Moody's Cemetery, Gravesend.
43. Records of Interments, St. James' Cemetery, September 29, 1823, to May 31, 1849; *T T*, March 28, 1835; *NY W R C D*, February 28, 1835.
44. *Star*, July 29, August 5, 1824.
45. *T T*, July 7, 1838. The records begin September 29, 1823, with "An Account of money received for burial fees in the Cemetery of St. James' Church since September 29, 1823." Forty-four entries follow before the next date, December 19, 1824, is noted. In 1826, the first year for which complete records remain, 114 burials were recorded. Dr. James Murray, U.S.N., died June 8, 1822, was buried behind the church (Meehan, *St. James' Centennial*, p. 37). The oldest tombstone observed in 1870 was that of John O'Connor, who died August 19, 1822 (Shea, III, 186). The dates in Meehan, "A Village Churchyard," *H R S*, VII (1914), 184; Meehan, III, 532; Mitchell, p. xxvi; and *B T*, July 28, 1934, disagree.
46. Statistics.
47. Manuscript, A D B; Statistics; Stiles, II, 200; Meehan, "Pioneer Times," p. 179.
48. Statistics; Records of Interments.
49. Lariscy was in Philadelphia by December 27, 1822 (F. E. Tourscher, O.S.A., *Old St. Augustine's* [Philadelphia, 1937], p. 45). James McKenna labored along the Hudson and in New Jersey, 1816-1822. He said Mass in Brooklyn and died there at the home of relatives on October 3, 1824. Awley McAuley, late from Rome, collected in Brooklyn for St. James', in 1823, then left for Ireland. Michael O'Gorman served upstate; became rector of St. Patrick's, 1819; was chosen by Bishop Connolly as his successor; died, November 18, 1824. Richard Bulger, "a cheerful and laborious missionary" in New Jersey and New York, "often on foot," died, November 27, 1824. The bishop himself died, February 6, 1825. John Shanahan, not mentioned in the Statistics,

ordained by Connolly in New York in 1823, left the earliest parish records. They were of two baptisms, November 2, 1823, and May 19, 1825, and of one marriage, October 19, 1823. The data are pasted on the first page of the Register of Baptisms, September 20, 1829-August 13, 1837. He labored in New York, upstate, and in California. Vallette in Ross, I, 799, and in *USCH Mag*, III, 291, states Shanahan offered "the first Mass" at St. James', August 28, 1823, on an altar of rough boards. Thus also, *Souvenir Dedication of St. James* (Brooklyn, 1903). Vallette states "his first Mass" (*BCHS Records*, p. 23), as does J. S. M. Lynch, *A Page in . . . History . . . St. John's, Utica* (1893), p. 22. DeCoursey-Shea state "his first Mass in September," *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, (New York, 1879), pp. 395, 486, 493. Bayley (1870), p. 224, and Corrigan, II, 45, state September 19, 1823. Cf. Shea, III, 183, 187; Guilday, *England*, I, 6, 12; John K. Sharp, *Priests and Parishes of the Diocese of Brooklyn, 1820-1944* (New York, 1944).

50. Levins' Diary notes Farnan came on April 18, 1825.

51. Bishop Connolly's Diary, photostat, Dominican House of Studies, Washington, D.C.

52. AGU, 247.7; AANY, A-37; J. S. M. Lynch, *op.cit.*; and letter, Lynch, Utica, December 4, 1893, to M. G. Flannery, Brooklyn (ADB); Middleton, *op.cit.*, pp. 63, 76-147; Meehan, *St. James' Centennial*, p. 21; Zwierlein, I, 8-11; Zwierlein, "Catholic Beginnings in the Diocese of Rochester," *CHR*, I (1915) 284; Zwierlein, "Rochester's Catholic Pioneers," *HRS*, XVI (1924), 67; Statistics; Smith, I, 70; Smith, *History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg* (New York, 1885); Shea, III, 182; Meehan, "Pioneer Times," p. 186.

53. AAB, 16 M 23.

54. Statistics; *Star*, April 21, 1825; testimony, Marriott McKinney, LICH Society, April 13, 1894 (ADB); Meehan, "Pioneer Times," p. 185.

55. *BD*, 1825, 1826, 1829. No *BD* was published 1827, 1828, 1831. These entries disprove the statements that he built the rectory opposite St. James' and gave it to the Sisters of Charity for a convent-orphanage.

56. Testimony, Boyle to LICH Society, May 14, 1894 (ADB).

57. Fifth District Tower and Steeple Collection Book, August 19, 1828, given by John Furey to LICH Society, January 2, 1894, kindly given author by Miss Margaret Vallette, deposited in ADB. Andrew B. Cook, M.D., paid \$18.00. Eleven persons, including Turner, gave \$5.00 each and there were 19 payments of 50 cents each. The rest were mainly \$1.00 payments. The addresses given lay between the Navy Yard and present Flatbush Avenue Extension. Cook and "William Ryan, Surgeon, son of the celebrated Doctor Ryan of Limerick" (*TT*, January 6, 1827), were other early doctors.

58. *TT*, November 26, 1825.

59. *Ibid.*, June 27, 1829; *Star*, June 25, 1829.

60. *Star*, March 23, 1826. The feeling and animated view are lost to posterity. The "foreigners" refused Whig Spooner's attempts to coax them from the Jacksonian Democrats. Turner, Purcell, George L. Birch, James Allen, and George Hall formed the committee (*TT*, April 1, 1826).

61. *Star*, March 29, 1827.

62. *Ibid.*, March 26, 1829; *TT*, April 1, 1829.

63. *Star*, June 16, 30, July 7, 11, 1825. The building served also as municipal hall, court, savings bank, and post office.

64. *Star*, July 6, 1826.

65. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1826.

66. He was an "attorney and agent" with an office at 127 Fulton Street (*Star*, August 24, 1826). He was listed at 104 York Street (*B D*, 1830) and 159 Sands Street (*B D*, 1832-1833). W. A. Coffey, 4 Nassau Street, was another "attorney and land agent" (*T T*, June 2, 1827).

67. *T T*, September 27, October 4, 11, December 1, 6, 15, 1828; February 14, 20, May 26, 30, 1829; *Star*, February 19, 26, 1829.

68. *U. S. Catholic Miscellany*, July 4, 1829; *Star*, June 18, 1829; *T T*, June 20, 27, 1829.

69. *Star*, June 25, 1829. The *Star* welcomed Irish emancipation, June 18, 1829.

70. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1829. The Brooklyn Temperance Society was formed the month previous (Ross, I, 404).

71. *Star*, September 3, 1829.

72. Levins, Diary, noticed Farnan in trouble February 3, 1826, to August 20, 1829 (error for September 20), when he noted: "The Bishop sailed, Farnan suspended yesterday. . . . Walsh says Mass in Brooklyn." "September 23. Walsh gone to live in Brooklyn." Father W. Quarter wrote Father Purcell, September 22, 1829, that Walsh had been sent to Brooklyn (quoted in Sister Mary Agnes McCann, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters. The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati* [New York, 1917], II, 47). The *Star*, December 3, 1829, and the Minutes of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society also establish 1829 as the date. Francis Cooper wrote from New York September 20, 1829, to his parents in Philadelphia: "The bishop who sails today removed Mr. Farnan of Brooklyn" (*A C H S Records*, XI [1900], 219). Cf. Meehan, "Pioneer Times," p. 187. The baptism and marriage records of St. James' begin with Walsh, September 20 and October 23, 1829, respectively. Statements in Weld, p. 89; Vallette in *U S C H Mag.*, III, 291, and Vallette in Ross, I, 800; by Meehan, *St. James' Centennial* (1922), and *Souvenir, Dedication of St. James* (1903), that Father Farnan remained until 1830 or 1832 are not true. No records remain at St. James' in Farnan's handwriting. The press reported some marriages by him: *T T*, June 4, 1825; *Star*, December 7, 1826; January 18, 1827; December 13, 1829; January 14, 1830; June 30, 1836; June 18, 1838.

73. A A B, 16 M 22 A.

74. *Star*, October 13, 26, 1830; November 2, 1831; November 20, 1833; Weld, p. 89.

75. *T T*, June 18, 1831. Levins, appointed a third time to the Board of Visiting Examiners to West Point (*Star*, April 26, 1827), noted, Diary, March 6, 1831: "Farnan at West Point." There is no evidence Farnan ever taught at West Point (Captain Bullinger, U. S. Military Academy, West Point, December 27, 1897, to Meehan in A D B). Cf. *C R*, June 27, 1891; Meehan, "Pioneer Times," p. 190.

76. *T T*, June 25, 1831; *U. S. Catholic Miscellany*, July 2, 9, 1831.

77. "John Farnan, Doctor of Divinity," bought land 100 feet square at 82-88 York Street from Grove and Harriet Wright, August 13, 1831, for \$2,800 and mortgaged the property to them that day for the same sum (Liber 22, p. 309, recorded December 9, 1831, Brooklyn Hall of Records). Farnan's residence at 88 Jay (*B D*, 1826) adjoined this land on the south (*Atlas*, 1855).

78. *Star*, October 26, November 2, 1831.

79. *Ibid.*, November 2, 1831; *T T*, May 23, 1835. "It is intended to be completed as soon as possible. It will make a handsome addition to the many churches" (*Star*, November 20, 1833). "The church on York Street commonly called Farnan's Church, has not been occupied" (*Ibid.*, January 14, 1836). Furman states that after Farnan had his church "enclosed, November 1833, his brother Eugene Farnan, a lawyer in Brooklyn, died after being ill a long time with consumption and I, with numerous others, attended his funeral, he being buried within the walls of that church" (Manuscript Notes, Miscellanies, August 28, 1854, pp. 170, 197).

80. *B D E*, October 26, 1841; May 20, 1890; *B T*, December 9, 1908.

81. *F J*, March 12, July 16, 23, August 8, 1842.

82. *U. S. Gazette*, Philadelphia, January 5, 1835.

83. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1835.

84. *T T*, January 10, 17, September 19, 1835; Levins' Diary, July 15, 1834.

85. *T T*, May 23, 1835.

86. Marriott McKinney, testimony to L I C H Society, April 13, 1894 (A D B). "He ingratiated himself as a Democrat but was not to be believed" (*T T*, November 28, 1835).

87. *B D E*, February 20, 1898.

88. An unclaimed letter for him lay in the Post Office (*Star*, January 19, 1831). The *B D* locates him at 159 Sands Street with his brother Eugene (1832-1833). His name is missing, 1833-1835. In 1836-1837 he lived at 83 Main Street; in 1838-1839, and in 1841, Kent Avenue near Wallabout Road; 1840, Navy Street near Willoughby; 1842-1846, in Sanford Avenue near Myrtle.

89. *B D E*, November 27, 1849.

90. In Detroit he had some trouble with his pastor and after his death there was some litigation over his assets (testimony, R. R. Elliott, Detroit, to L I C H Society, April 4, 1894 [A D B]; Meehan, "Pioneer Times," p. 190). "Farnan died well in the Detroit Bishop's house" (Letter, Shea to Bishop Loughlin, July 17, 1878 [A D B]). Furman admired him and reminisced, August 28, 1854, that Farnan was persecuted. He quoted Farnan as saying he did not secede from the Church but was under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of "Upsal" [a]. [The diocese of Upsala, Sweden, was founded in 1080. There has been no bishop there since the Protestant Reformation.] This bishop, Farnan said, was independent of the Pope. Farnan found many friends both in and out of the Roman Catholic Church and by reason of their voluntary contributions, he erected the church. He was "the most liberal and gentlemanly of all the clergy of that church I ever knew and was a fine scholar . . . intimate friend of DeWitt Clinton and one of his most generous supporters. . . . Early May, Farnan invited all leading Protestants of Brooklyn with their families to attend the consecration of St. James and the church was crowded full. He selected the most distinguished Protestants present, especially those holding important offices, to carry plates for collection and by this means obtained quite a large sum of money" (Manuscript Notes, Miscellanies, I, 171, 197, 198). The incident showing Farnan's ingenuity was perhaps some other affair, for St. James' was dedicated on August 28, 1823; Farnan arrived in 1826.

APPENDIX

DEEDS FOR THE FIRST ST. JAMES' PROPERTY

On March 5, 1822, two indentures recorded in Kings County the fact that the Trustees of the Roman Catholic Society of an unnamed church of the Village of Brooklyn had purchased from two different parties eight adjacent lots of ground, numbered 31 to 38 inclusive, measuring 100 by 200 feet, for the sum of \$800. Since the legal phraseology of the indentures is identical, it suffices to print one in full and only enough of the second to distinguish the two conveyors and the two parcels of ground. The copies were made from Book of Conveyances, Liber 13, page 138, Brooklyn Hall of Records.

Lots 35, 36, 37, 38:

"RECORDED for and at the request of GEORGE S. WISE, Junr. PETER TURNER WILLIAM PURCELL JOHN KENNY NICHOLAS STAFFORD DENNIS COSGROVE and JEREMIAH MAHONEY, this 5th day of March 1822 at 4 O'Clk P.M. THIS INDENTURE made the first day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty two BETWEEN SAMUEL JAMES of the Town of Brooklyn in the County of Kings and State of New York Ropemaker and CLARISSA his wife of the first part and GEORGE S. WISE, Junr. President and PETER TURNER, Secretary, who by virtue of their offices are Trustees and WILLIAM PURCELL JOHN KENNY NICHOLAS STAFFORD DENNIS COSGROVE and JEREMIAH MAHONY as Trustees of the Roman Catholic Society of Saint Church of the Village of Brooklyn and their successors in office for the said Roman Catholic Society, of the second part WITNESSETH that the said parties of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of four hundred dollars, lawful money of the United States of America to them in hand paid at or before the sealing and delivery of these presents the receipt whereis hereby acknowledged Have granted bargained and sold aliened enfeoffed released conveyed and confirmed And by these presents Do grant, bargain and sell alien enfeoff release convey and confirm unto the said parties of the second part and to their successors in office forever All those certain four lots pieces or parcels of ground situate lying and being in the town of Brooklyn aforesaid designated on a certain Map of the said parcel of Ground made by JEREMIAH LOTT, County Surveyor on the Seventeenth day of September 1821 and recorded in the office of the Clerk of the County of Kings in Liber 5 of Mortgages between pages 142 and 143 the thirteenth day of November 1821 as Lots numbers 35, 36, 37, 38 being bounded Westerly by lots designated on said map as lots numbers 31, 32, 33 and 34 Southerly by ground lately belonging to Henry Sands Easterly by a lot designated on said Map as Lot Number 39 and Northerly by Chapel Street. Beginning one hundred feet Easterly from Jay Street on Chapel Street running thence Southerly along the rear of Lots numbers 31, 32, 33 and 34, on a parallel line with Jay Street one hundred feet to ground lately belonging to Henry Sands thence along said ground Easterly one hundred feet to lot number 39 thence northerly along said lot one hundred feet to Chapel Street thence Westerly along Chapel Street one hundred feet to the place of beginning. TOGETHER with all and singular the hereditaments and appertenances

thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining. AND ALSO all the estate right title interest dower property possession claim and demand in law and in equity of them the said parties of the first part of in and to the said premises with the appertenances and also the reversion and reversions remainder and remainders rents issues and proffits thereof TO HAVE AND TO HOLD all and singular the said hereby granted premises and the appertenances thereunto belonging unto the said parties of the second part and to their successors in office to the only proper use and behoof of them the said parties of the second part as Trustees of the Roman Catholic Society aforesaid and their successors in office forever AND the said SAMUEL JAMES for himself his heirs executors and administrators DOTH covenant promise and agree to and with the said parties of the second part as trustees aforesaid and their successors in office that he the said SAMUEL JAMES at the time of the sealing and delivery of these presents is lawfully seized in his own right of and in the said lots of ground above mentioned of a good sure absolute and indefeasible estate of inheritance in the law in fee simple AND that they the said parties of the first part have a good right full power and lawful authority to grant bargain sell and convey the same in manner and form aforesaid AND ALSO that the said SAMUEL JAMES hath not done or suffered any act matter or thing to change alter charge or incumber the said premises above mentioned AND ALSO the said SAMUEL JAMES for himself his heirs executors and administrators DOTH further covenant and agree to and with the said parties of the second part and their successors in office that they shall and may at all times hereafter peaceably and quietly have hold use occupy possess and enjoy the said hereby granted premises with the appertenances without the interruption of any person or persons claiming by from or under him AND ALSO that the said hereby granted premises are free and clear of and from all former or other sales or incumbrances of any kind or nature soever AND lastly that the said SAMUEL JAMES his heirs executors and administrators the said hereby bargained premises with the appertenances and every parcel thereof unto the said parties of the second part and their successors in office against them the said parties of the first part and their heirs and against all and every person or persons whomsoever shall and will WARRANT and forever DEFEND by these presents IN WITNESS WHEREOF the parties to these presents have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year first above written SAMUEL JAMES (LS) CLARISSA JAMES (LS) SEALED AND DELIVERED in the presence of JOHN GARRISON STATE OF NEW YORK ss: BE IT REMEMBERED that on the second day of March in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and twenty two, personally appeared before me JOHN GARRISON, Esqr. one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas in and for Kings County SAMUEL JAMES and CLARISSA his wife known to me to be the same persons described in and who executed this Indenture and acknowledged the same. AND the said CLARISSA Being by me examined separte and apart from her said husband acknowledged that she executed the same as her voluntary act and deed without any fear or compulsion of her said husband AND having examined the same and finding therein no material alterations do allow the same to be recorded JOHN GARRISON."

Lots 31, 32, 33, 34:

"... Joseph Moser ... Carpenter and Rachel his wife of the first part . . .

for and in consideration of the sum of four hundred dollars . . . Do grant . . . ALL those certain four . . . Lots numbers 31, 32, 33 and 34 being BOUNDED westerly by Jay Street Southerly by ground lately belonging to Henry Sands easterly by a Lot designated on Said Map as Lot number 35 and Northerly by Chappel Street BEGINNING at the corner of Jay and Chappel Street running thence Southerly along Jay Street one hundred feet to ground lately belonging to Henry Sands thence easterly along said land One hundred feet to Lot number 35 thence Northerly along said lot One hundred feet to Chappel Street thence Westerly along Chappel One hundred feet to the place of Beginning . . . unto the said parties of the second part and to their successors in Office . . . IN WITNESS WHEREOF . . . JOSEPH MOSER (LS) RACHEL (HER X MARK) MOSER (LS) . . ."

CHAPTER IV

1. *Star*, August 3, 1835. The *Catholic Telegraph* of Cincinnati advertised lands, jobs, and priestly ministrations (August 15, 1834).

2. Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly, O.P., *Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects in the United States, 1815-1860* (New York, 1939), *passim*.

3. Abraham Bell and Co., New York, transmitted from January 1, 1834, to May 1, 1835, \$55,000 from Irish laborers and domestics to kindred in Ireland, in amounts averaging \$28.50 (*Catholic Herald*, Philadelphia, April 14, 1836).

4. Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884* (New York, 1932), *passim*. For Bishop England's influence in having councils held, cf. Guilday, *Life and Times of John England* (New York, 1927), II, 503.

5. Hone, *Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York, 1936), p. 81. Hone, New York mayor, 1826-1827, was hostile to the Church, despite friendship with Dominic Lynch, prominent New York Catholic. Cf. Meehan, "Tales of Old New York," *HR S*, XVIII (1928), 128.

6. *U. S. Cath. Miscellany*, December 29, 1832.

7. *C N*, April 21, 1945; Murray, p. 346.

8. Guilday, *England*, II, 66.

9. *Ibid.*, II, 377. Cf. Peter Condon, "Constitutional Freedom of Religion and the Revivals of Religious Intolerance," *H R S*, II (1900), 401 ff; III (1903), 92 ff; IV (1906), 145 ff; V (1907), 426 ff.

10. *Ibid.*, IV (1906), 150.

11. Robert H. Lord, "Religious Liberty in New England," *H R S*, XXII (1932), 7, citing John B. McMaster.

12. Hone, *op.cit.*, p. 275.

13. *Star*, August 13, 1835.

14. Richard J. Purcell, "Immigration to the Canal Era," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1935), VII, 27, citing Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 47.

16. Hone, *op.cit.*, p. 190. Cf. also p. 209.

17. *Star*, May 23, 1836.

18. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1836.

19. Condon, *op.cit.*, III (1905), 101, 105; "Notes and Comment," *C H R*, II (1916), 348.

20. Condon, *op.cit.*, IV (1906), 150.
21. *Star*, October 29, 1835; *B D E*, November 1, 1849.
22. Condon, *op.cit.*, IV (1906), 175. Cf. *Ibid.*, IV (1906), 183.
23. *Star*, October 31, 1832. Cf. *T T*, October 6, 1832.
24. *Star*, March 27, 1833.
25. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1835.
26. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1835.
27. *Ibid.*, July, 13, 20, 1835.
28. *Ibid.*, October 10, 1835. Cf. *Ibid.*, October 1. The sponsors of the Natives bore English and Dutch names.
29. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1835. The Irish Fifth Ward gave 297 votes to Morse and 131 to Dikeman; the Fourth, wherein was St. James' parish, gave 73 to Morse, 662 to Dikeman (*Ibid.*, November 12, 1835; Stiles, II, 251). Cf. *T T*, November 7, 21, December 12, 19, 26, 1835. A letter (*Star*, November 2, 1835) criticized a meeting of "our adopted Democratic citizens of Irish origin" in the Fifth Ward.
30. *Star*, January 11, 1836. Cf. *Ibid.*, January 18, February 11, 15, 1836; Stiles, II, 251.
31. *Star*, April 7, 1836. Cf. *Ibid.*, March 3, 21, 28, 1836.
32. *Ibid.*, April 11, 1836.
33. *Ibid.*, April 14, 1836.
34. Guilday, *England*, II, 377.
35. *Star*, November 26, 1829. Cf. Condon, *op.cit.*, III (1905), 106; Ray A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860* (New York, 1938), p. 58.
36. Guilday, *England*, II, 377, 448; *U. S. Catholic Miscellany*, February 9, 1833; Condon, *op.cit.*, III (1905), 106.
37. Reviewed in the *Star*, September 24, 1835. Father Varela attributed its sale to advertising by 73 Calvinist ministers.
38. Condon, *op.cit.*, IV (1906), 179. Three Protestant ministers sponsored it (*Star*, January 28, 1836). *Further Disclosures*, published 1837, was even worse.
39. She was exploited by the preacher-journalist, W. K. Hoyt, Minister Brownlee, the Protestant Association, and S. F. B. Morse (*Star*, January 25, 1836; Condon, *op.cit.*, IV [1906], 180; Shea, III, 509 ff).
40. *Star*, August 26, 1847; Meehan, letter, *America*, XLVI (February 6, 1932), 440. In *Maria Monk's Daughter, an Autobiography* (New York, 1874), pp. 1-15, Mrs. Eckel, claiming to be Maria's daughter, tells of her own conversion to Catholicism and vigorously defends the Catholic faith (Murray, p. 245; Ray A. Billington, "Maria Monk and Her Influence," *CH R*, XXII [1936], 283 ff).
41. Nearly one and a half pages are given to it (*Star*, February 25, 1836). Cf. *Ibid.*, December 17, 1835; January 27, February 29, March 3, 21, June 2, 30, 1836.
42. *Ibid.*, August 4, 1836.
43. *Ibid.*, August 11, 1836. Samuel F. B. Morse wrote from Europe in 1834 to the sensational dailies of America, pretending to acquaint America with the "real" objects of the Leopoldine Association: Catholic Austria sending money to subvert us, the Holy Alliance trying to control America, priest-ridden multitudes endangering American ideals, etc. His letters appeared as *Brutus, or a Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States* (New

York, 1835). In 1836 he edited *Confessions of a French Catholic Priest*. Its thesis was that "American liberty can only be destroyed by the Popish Clergy." Born near Bunker Hill, he was a leader in the Native American movement and unsuccessful candidate for the New York mayoralty in 1836.

44. Cf. *Star*, October 10, 1836.

45. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1837.

46. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1837.

47. *Ibid.*, June 23, July 7, 1830.

48. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1831. Weld states: "This outburst of anti-Catholic feeling must have gone far to nullify the effect of the fraternal attitude of men like Snow and Kirk" (*Brooklyn Village*, p. 290, fn. 58).

49. *Star*, May 23, 30, 1832.

50. *T T*, June 9, 1832. Cf. *Star*, June 9, 1832.

51. *Ibid.*, May 30, June 13, 1832.

52. *Ibid.*, September 26, November 21, 28, December 5, 12, 1832.

53. *Ibid.*, September 5, October 3, 1832.

54. *Ibid.*, October 17, November 14, 1832.

55. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1832; January 9, April 17, May 22, November 20, December 18, 1833. Smith, a renegade priest, and his paper, the *Downfall of Babylon*, sponsored another "fugitive nun" in New York in 1836, self-styled Saint Frances Patrick, who had been in the Hotel Dieu Convent with Maria Monk and would confirm every statement in the *Awful Disclosures* (*Star*, September 15, 26, 1836).

56. *Ibid.*, March 21, April 2, 1835.

57. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1837.

58. Shea, III, 499, 502. Charles G. Herbermann, "Rt. Rev. John Dubois Third Bishop of New York," *HR S*, I (1900), 323, calls the fire probably accidental.

59. Condon, *op.cit.*, III (1905), 110; Lord II, 205 ff. Sister Loyola, S.H., S.N.D., "Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick and Anti-Catholicism in New England, 1829-1845," *HR S*, XXVII (1937), 99-249. One year later Brooklyn Catholics might read: "A card. The Catholics and inhabitants generally of Brooklyn are respectfully informed that a splendid painting 12 feet by 9, representing the destruction of the Ursuline Convent at Charlestown, Mass., will be exhibited in their city about the 15th of next month. . . . Persons intending to view this really affecting picture, are requested to provide themselves with tickets previous to the 1st of August. 25¢—children 1/2 price, had of Mr. J. Murphy, St. James' Church, Brooklyn" (*T T*, July 25, 1835).

60. *Star*, June 25, July 9, 1835; Herbermann, *op.cit.*, p. 332.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 330.

62. *Democracy in America* (New York, 1900), I, 304. Cf. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, I, II, ed. Phillip Bradley (New York, 1945).

63. Other epithets may be found throughout Guilday's *England*, II. Bishops England and Hughes preferred vigorous defense to the dignified silence of Archbishop Eccleston of Baltimore and Kenrick of Philadelphia (*Ibid.*, 220, 392).

64. *New Haven Quarterly Christian Spectator* (June, 1837), pp. 268 f., cited in Condon, *op.cit.*, IV (1906), 183.

65. A. Greene, *A Glance at New York in 1837* (New York, 1837), pp. 47-50.

66. *Society in America* (New York, 1837), II, 321, 323.
67. *Star*, December 21, 1835. Reverend Evan Johnson attended Father Doherty's funeral, March 27, 1841.
68. *T T*, May 26, 1838. Cf. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1838; February 25, 1837. The weekly *Truth Teller* (1825-1855) was the second New York Catholic paper. Founded by William E. Andrews, its ownership soon passed to George Pardow and William Denman (Paul J. Foik, *Pioneer Catholic Journalism* [New York, 1930], pp. 28, 43 ff). It constantly corrected the Protestant Association, Native Americans, the *American Citizen*, the *Brooklyn Advertiser*, and the *Star* for doctrinal misstatements and animus. Father Schneller founded and edited the *New York Weekly Register and Catholic Diary*, October 5, 1833. Levins, Pise, and Varela wrote for it. Schneller lost money on this excellent paper and discontinued it in October 1836 (*Ibid.*, p. 120; Meehan, "Periodical Literature," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 693).
69. *T T*, May 19, 1838.
70. Cf. fn. 63 *supra*; Herbermann, *op.cit.*, p. 333; Guilday, "General Meeting: John England," *HRS*, XVIII (1928), 171 ff. Dubois denied his priests voted or electioneered (*T T*, June 27, 1835).
71. Guilday, *England*, II, 66, 377, 421.
72. Smith, I, 129 ff; Cf. Sister Loyola, *op.cit.*

CHAPTER V

1. Charles G. Herbermann, "Rt. Rev. John Dubois," *HRS*, I (1900), 302. Power was Bishop England's choice for New York (Guilday, *Life and Times of John England* [New York, 1937], II, 93). A New York faction debated whether to receive Dubois (Shea, III, 196, fn. 1).
2. Rt. Rev. John Dubois, "The Diocese of New York in 1830," *HRS*, V (1907), 216-230.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 216. Cf. Herbermann, *op.cit.*, pp. 303-304, 352; "Bishop Dubois on New York in 1836," *HRS*, X (1917), 124; Zwierlein, "Catholic Church in New York State," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1937), IX, 174; *U. S. Catholic Miscellany*, XI, 14; *T T*, November 4, 11, 1826; June 25, 1831.
4. *U. S. Catholic Miscellany*, December 10, 1831.
5. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1832; John Dubois to John B. Purcell, Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, December 28, 1831 (A U N D).
6. The Lyons Society for the Propagation of the Faith collected nearly \$100,000,000 from 1822 to 1920. Of this amount American Catholics gave over \$10,000,000 and received nearly \$8,000,000. The Leopoldine Foundation of Vienna gave over \$700,000 to the American Church between 1830 and 1910. The Ludwig Missionsverein of Munich gave nearly \$900,000, one-seventh of its receipts, to the United States from 1844 to 1918. Cf. Edward J. Hickey, *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith . . . 1822-1922* (Washington, 1922), p. 138; Antoine Rezek, "The Leopoldine Society," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XVI, 52; Herbermann, *op.cit.*, p. 319; Dubois, *op. cit.*, p. 216; Paul Kagerer, "The Ludwig Missionsverein," *HRS*, IX (1916), 207; Herbermann, "The Diamond Jubilee of Fordham University," *HRS*, X (1917), 119, 124; Raymond Payne, "Annals of the Leopoldine Association," *CHR*, I (1915),

51 ff, 175 ff; Joseph A. Schabert, "The Ludwig Missionsverein," *CH R*, II (1922), 36; Monsignor Freri, "Notes and Comment," *CH R*, II (1922), 138; Theodore Roemer, O.M.Cap., *Pioneer Capuchin Letters* (New York, 1936); Idem, *The Ludwig Missionsverein and the Catholic Church in the United States, 1838-1918* (New York, 1933); Idem, *The Leopoldine Foundation . . . 1829-1839* (New York, 1933); Idem, *Ten Decades of Alms* (St. Louis, 1942).

7. Dubois to John B. Purcell, Mount St. Mary's, August 6, 1828 (A U N D).

8. Dubois to Purcell, September 5, 1826; December 9, 28, 1831; January 31, October 2, 1832 (A U N D). Dubois to Thomas R. Butler, Mount St. Mary's, November 5, 1834 (A M S M C).

9. Shea, III, 502; John M. Farley, "Cardinal McCloskey," *H R S*, I (1900), 62; Idem, *Cardinal McCloskey* (New York, 1918), p. 75; Herbermann, "Dubois," *H R S*, I, 323; Bayley (1870), p. 115; Smith, I, 78-80. For Loughlin at Nyack, cf. Farley, *McCloskey*, p. 72; Arthur J. Scanlan, *St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N. Y., 1896-1921* (New York, 1922), p. 12; *C N*, March 18, 1939; *B T*, June 27, September 27, 1930. The above authors place the fire in 1834. However, Meline-McSweeney, *Story of the Mountain* (Emmitsburg, 1911), I, 362, dates the fire in April, 1937. So does Henry J. Browne, "The Archdiocese of New York a Century Ago: A Memoir of Archbishop Hughes, 1838-1858," *H R S*, XXXIX-XL (1952), 146, fn. 17, and in "Public Support of Catholic Education in New York, 1825-1842: Some New Aspects," *H R S*, XLI (1953), 23 and fn. 27, citing Dubois to Bishop Rosati, New York, April 18, 1937 (Archives, Archdiocese of St. Louis), and in letter to author, March 10, 1954. The future Cardinal McCloskey received minor orders and subdeaconship at Gettysburg, Pa., December 3, 1832 (*Diary and Visitation Record of the Rt. Rev. F. P. Kenrick, 1830-1851* [Lancaster, 1916], p. 81), and was ordained by Dubois, January 12, 1834. "We congratulate the Bishop and clergy on the . . . elevation of Father McCloskey. . . . Talented, distinguished for ardor in the pursuit of useful knowledge and above all of sacred learning, what will not faithful adherence to a cause so happily begun . . . enable our Reverend and beloved brother to accomplish" (*T T*, February 7, 1834). McCloskey sailed for studies in Rome in November, 1834. Cf. Meline-McSweeney, *op.cit.*, I, 278.

10. *T T*, February 6, 1836; May 27, 1837. Cf. Dubois to Butler, November 22, 1837 (A M S M C).

11. J. R. G. Hassard, *Life of the Most Rev. John Hughes* (New York, 1866), p. 189; *C R*, October, 1878; Herbermann, "Dubois," p. 323; Merrick, p. 135; Meehan, "A Self-Effaced Philanthropist," *CH R*, IV (1918), 12; Scanlan, *op.cit.*, p. 6; Bayley (1853), p. 93 (1870), p. 116; Henry Gabriels, *Historical Sketch of St. John's Provincial Seminary, Troy, New York* (New York, 1905), pp. 19-20.

12. March 30, 1838 (A A B, 25-E-1).

13. May 4, 1838 (A M S M C).

14. M. A. Frenaye, Philadelphia, to Bishop Patrick Kenrick, Pittsburgh, August 23, 1838 (A M S M C). However, Dubois wrote Frenaye, May 3, 1838, about plans for Lafargeville (Scanlan, *op.cit.*, pp. 13-14).

15. Contracts to build the orphanage were signed September 7, 1837. It would "soon be ready" (*Star*, August 9, 1838).

16. Bayley (1853), p. 93, (1870), p. 116; Merrick, p. 135.

17. J. T. Smith, *History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg* (New York, 1885),

pp. 26, 114, 123; Zwierlein, *op.cit.*, p. 177; Herbermann, "Dubois," *HR S*, I (1900), 324, and "Diamond Jubilee of Fordham University," *HR S*, X (1917), 117; Golda G. Stander, "Jesuit Educational Institutions in the City of New York, 1683-1860," *HR S*, XXIV (1934), 253; Meehan, "Lafargeville," *America* (December 10, 1910), pp. 149, 150. Shea, III, 517. Board and tuition were \$112 (*C D*, 1839, 1840). Cf. *Souvenir of Dedication, McCaddin Memorial* (1898), p. 71; *Prospectus*, Lafargeville. LaFarge died at Glen Cove, Long Island, June 25, 1858 (*F J*, July 3, 1858).

18. October 18, 1827, Dubois to Purcell (A U N D); W. W. Pasko, *In Old New York* (New York, 1889), I, 22.

19. Guilday, *England*, I, 447; Herbermann, "Dubois," p. 338; Farley, "Cardinal McCloskey," *HR S*, II (1901), 19; Shea, III, 205, 495.

20. Guilday, "John Gilmary Shea," *HR S*, XVII (1926), 11. Cf. Mother Mary P. McCarthy, O.S.U., *Old St. Patrick's Cathedral* (New York, 1947), p. 68; Smith, I, 104; Zwierlein, *op.cit.*, p. 176. Hughes wrote jubilantly to Eccleston, February 25, 1839 (A A B, 25-E-4).

21. Henry A. Brann, *Most Rev. John Hughes* (New York, 1892), p. 62.

22. Guilday, "Shea," p. 11.

23. U. S. *Cath. Miscellany*, March 5, 1830; *T T*, July 30, 1830. Cf. Meehan, "Some Schools in Old New York," *HR S*, II (1901), 436.

24. "Bishop Dubois on New York in 1836," *HR S*, X (1917), 124.

25. By 1831 Catholic authors had published 1,119 books. Cf. Cuthbert E. Allen, "The Slavery Question in Catholic Newspapers," *HR S*, XXVI (1936), 117; P. J. Foik, *Pioneer Catholic Journalism* (New York, 1930), p. 156; Meehan, "Catholic Literary New York, 1800-1840," *C H R*, IV (1919), 399 ff; Meehan, "The Centenary of American Catholic Fiction," *HR S*, XIX (1929), 52-72; Herbermann, "An Interesting Relic," *HR S*, IV (1906), 319 ff; Wilfrid Parsons, S.J., *Early Catholic Americana, 1729-1830* (New York, 1939).

26. Hughes to Leopoldine Society, April 16, 1840 (A A N Y, A-34).

27. Herbermann, "Dubois," pp. 341 ff; Guilday, "Shea," p. 9; Hughes to Eccleston, October 29, 1838 (A A B, 25-E-2); Cardinal McCloskey's Reminiscences, May 21, 1882 (Manuscript, A A N Y, A-34); Shea, III, 516; Smith, I, 86; Meline-McSweeney, *op.cit.*, I, 404.

28. *F J*, December 31, 1842; February 4, 1843; *Catholic Expositor* (New York), January, May, 1843.

29. *Star*, December 15, 1830; November 3, 1835; *B D E*, July 16, 1842; *B D*, 1832-1833; J. T. Bailey, *Historical Sketch of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1840), p. 53; Stiles, II, 259, 262; State and Federal Censuses. Manhattan in 1840 had 312, 710 people.

30. Stiles, II, 242, 252; Henry I. Hazelton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens* (Chicago, 1925), III, 1575; Weld, p. 46. George Hall, Nativist, last mayor of the village, became first mayor of the city.

31. *Star*, July 16, 1835. Cf. *Star*, June 25, September 17, November 13, 1835; Hone, *Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York, 1936), p. 246; Weld, 43 ff; Stiles, II, 262.

32. *Star*, July 16, June 18, 1835.

33. *Ibid.*, June 27, 1836; Stiles, II, 237, 252; III, 564.

34. *Star*, March 28, 1832; February 13, June 26, 1833; Hazelton, *op.cit.*, III, 1428, 1432; Ross, I, 403.

35. Chief birthplaces were: United States, 166; Ireland, 63; England, 26,

etc. (cf. Joseph C. Hutchinson, "History and Observations on Asiatic Cholera," *N. Y. Journal of Medicine* [1855], and *Asiatic Cholera in Brooklyn* [New York, 1855]). Furman complained that some ministers left the city during the 1832 cholera (Manuscript Notes, VII, 59). The secular press quoted official references to the Sisters of Charity as angels of mercy (Guilday, *England*, II, 223-229; Ryan, p. 174; *U. S. Catholic Miscellany*, August 11, 1832).

36. Henry J. Cullen and C. R. McClellan. Hazelton, *op.cit.*; Ross, I, 601, 608. For "clergymen and physicians fleeing the 1839 cholera," cf. Hazelton, *op.cit.*, III, 1516.

37. J. Disturnell, *New York As It Is in 1837* (New York, 1837); A. Greene, *A Glance at New York in 1837* (New York, 1837).

38. *Star*, May 9, 1827; October 9, 1833.

39. Cf. Furman, Manuscript Notes, IV, 308; Stiles, II, 237.

40. *Star*, November 16, 1835. Cf. Weld, p. 92.

41. Richard J. Purcell, "Immigration from the Canal Era to the Civil War," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1935), VII, 45-46.

42. *Star*, November 16, 1835.

43. *Ibid.*, July 13, August 10, 1835. Duflon's Military Gardens offered fireworks of sesquipedalian description: "Grand Perestrepheic Dioramas or moving scenes of animated nature" included "Daybreak scene in Italy, Moonlight and Shipwreck, East Indies, Conflagration of Moscow" (Cf. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1835). In 1826 the "respectable company" of the Brooklyn Theatre, at Fulton and Concord Streets, including a Quinn and a McGuire, played the "Poor Soldier" with Irish characters, including a Father Luke. Brooklyn Lyceum, Washington and Concord Streets, was chartered in 1843 as the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences. Here, in 1840, Madame Manncelli gave her first Brooklyn concert. P. F. White lectured on the music and bards of Ireland before the Hamilton Literary Association. Irish comedian, Collins, performed at the Colonnade Gardens, Middagh Street (Stiles, *History of the County of Kings* [New York, 1884], II, 1109, 1127; Weld, pp. 236, 252; *N Y C Register*, February 6, March 26, April 16, 1840).

44. Weld, pp. 226, 321. Some Irish teachers were W. B. Leary, Poplar Street; McKinley at Court and De Graw Streets; John Sullivan of Rockaway. Nearer St. James' were Mrs. Kelly's Girls' Academy; McGowan's schoolroom, Jay and High; Thomas O'Brien, Little Street (*Star*, February 22, 1877; November 17, 1830; June 22, 1831; *T T*, May 12, 1837; June 16, 1838; Stiles, III, 871; Marriott McKinney to L I C H Society [A D B]; *C N*, December 12, 1908). Miss Moran's girls' school in Pineapple Street taught all subjects, save that of English, in the French tongue (*Star*, May 30, 1832). The Brooklyn Collegiate Institute for Young Ladies on the Heights took boarders and taught English, French, Spanish, Latin, music, painting, and fancy work. E. W. Bazeley, a former Hoganite leader in the Philadelphia schism, and Agnes E. Bazeley were principals (*N Y W R C D*, April 4, 1835).

45. Whittier in Brooklyn, 1837; Cooper in Brooklyn and at Orient Point, 1835; Whitman, Brooklyn, 1830-1863; Bryant, Roslyn.

46. J. Disturnell, *op.cit.*; A. Greene, *op.cit.*; Weld, p. 90; Van Wyck Brooks, *Flowering of New England* (New York, 1937), pp. 12-13; *Brooklyn Advance* (1883), p. 75; *Reminiscences of Old Brooklynites* (1883), p. 75, at L I H Society.

47. "Although in this country this Holy Eve and the Festival of the suc-

ceeding day is not so much observed as in any other part of Christendom, And although among us the Presbyterians, who are the predominant sect, make it a point in their Religion not to keep the Eve or day themselves . . . as if the birth of the adorable Saviour of mankind was not of sufficient importance to have a day especially set apart for its commemoration, and they do this whilst they make the anniversaries of their half religious and half political associations a great day in their Church—Yet it never returns that my heart does not tell me, it is hallowed above all other days and seasons, and anxiously seeks about for some exhibition of joy and gratitude in the people" (Manuscript Notes VII, 398, 399).

48. In 1830 there was a conservative minimum of 140 Catholic burials. If the Catholic death rate were 28 per thousand a Catholic population of 5,000 is indicated. At St. James' that year 120 baptisms were recorded, which, if the Catholic birth rate were 30 per thousand, indicates a Catholic population of 3,996. Cf. Chap. VIII, fns. 133, 134, and appendix. For fuller treatment and sources cf. John K. Sharp, "How Many Catholics Lived in Pre-Diocesan Brooklyn," *HRS*, XXXVI (1947), 97 ff.

49. Vallette in *USCH Mag*, III, 291; Vallette in Ross, I, 800; *St. James' Centennial* (1922), p. 23; *Souvenir, Dedication of St. James* (1903), p. 23. All these state that Walsh succeeded Farnan in 1832. It was 1829.

50. At 92 Sands (*BD*, 1830); 160 Jay (*TT*, May 7, 1831); 107 Nassau (*BD*, 1832-1836; *TT*, May 5, 1832; *NYWRCD*, February 15, December 14, 1835); 149 Jay (*BD*, 1837-1840; J. Disturnell, *op.cit.*, p. 121); Jay near Concord (*NYWRCD*, November 21, 1839); "the house opposite the Church" (*BD*, 1839-1840).

51. Moran to F. Jamison, Mount St. Mary's, April 10, 1833 (*AMSMC*). Moran wrote to J. B. Purcell, Mount St. Mary's, October 31, 1832, of Walsh's poverty and his own reception of tonsure at St. James', October 30 (*AMSMC*).

52. Zwierlein, I, 62, 70; William Byrne, *Catholic Church in New England* (Boston, 1899), I, 381; II, 145; T. S. Duggan, *Catholic Church in Connecticut* (New York, 1930), p. 70; R. H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops* . . . (New York, 1872), II, 392.

53. *FJ*, March 27, 1841. Cf. Weld, 225; *BD*, 1840-1841; *CD*, 1836, 1837; Hatton Walsh, *St. Mary's Church, New York, Discourse* . . . May 19, 1826 (New York, 1826), ed. 1876, p. 21; Corrigan, II (1901), 76; *St. James' Centennial*, p. 30.

54. *Star*, November 19, December 3, 1826.

55. *TT*, February 18, 1837. Cf. Minutes, Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society of Brooklyn (1830-1843), October 14, 1834. The *TT* planned cheaper editions of Catholic books (*TT*, September 2, 1826). B. McKenna, Edward Murray, and William McColgan were its Brooklyn agents, as was John Murray, who also represented the *U. S. Cath. Miscellany* (*TT*, September 7, 1833; August 29, November 21, 1835; May 21, 1836; January 21, 1837; October 20, 1838; *U. S. Cath. Miscellany*, July 4, 1829). M. Burke of Sag Harbor was agent for the *NYWRCD*. J. Marshall's book store on Tillary Street sold it and the eight-cent weekly Catholic Periodical Library (*NYWRCD*, November 16, 1833; *Star*, November 30, 1835; January 28, 1836). W. E. Fitzgibbon at St. Paul's and P. Reilly of Williamsburg were agents for the *N. Y. Catholic Register* (*NYC Register*, October 24, 1839).

56. November 17, 1835 (A M S M C). Cf. Meline-McSweeney, *op.cit.*, I, 339.

57. *T T*, October 9, 1830.

58. Hatton-Walsh, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

59. *Star*, September 3, 1831; May 22, 1834; *U. S. Cath. Miscellany*, May 3, 1834; *T T*, March 17, 1834.

60. *Ibid.*, December 28, 1833; *N Y W R C D*, December 28, 1833. In 1837 St. James' gave \$118.40 (Minutes, R C O A Society). Cf. Hatton Walsh, *op.cit.*, p. 21; Shea, III, 503 ff.

61. *T T*, November 25, 1837.

62. *Ibid.*, May 19, June 16, 23, 1838.

63. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1830. The *Star*, July 7, 1830, praised this spirit. On March 17, 1831, the Sons of St. Patrick supped at Charles Brady's hotel (*Star*, March 30, 1831). After the church service in 1834, Fathers Varela and Schneller spoke like good Irishmen at Duflon's Military Gardens (County Court House site) (*T T*, March 17, 1834). Other celebrations at Washington Hall, Adams and Tillary Streets; McGowan's schoolroom, Jay and High; McDermott's Hotel, York Street; etc. (*Ibid.*, March 28, 1835; April 1, 1837; June 16, 1838; *N Y W R C D*, April 4, 1835; *Star*, June 22, 1831.)

64. *T T*, January 27, 1835. Cf. *B C K C R*, p. 188; Stiles, II, 251.

65. *T T*, April 20, September 21, 1833; *Star*, September 25, 1833; *N Y W R C D*, May 24, 1834.

66. "Summary Statement," in the *Constitution and By-Laws of the Brooklyn Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society*, revised, January, 1850 (Brooklyn, 1850), p. 11. The date 1829 was changed to 1826 in the "Summary Statement" of the 1865 edition of the *Constitution* (Joseph W. Carroll, "Beginning of the R. C. Orphan Asylum Society," *B C H S Records*, p. 41) and in the *Revised Charter and By-Laws* . . . (New York, 1873) and has led some writers to accept 1826. The 1830 meeting has misled others but the "Summary Statement," Shea in Stiles, III, 735 and *Bk Cit*, November 27, 1887, say 1829. Stiles, II, 234, states October, 1829. The *Constitution of the Brooklyn Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society* (New York, 1831) gives neither "Summary" nor dates.

67. Minutes, R C O A Society, 1830-1843. The society incorporated on May 6, 1834, for the "purpose of relieving the poor and of protecting and educating orphan children" ("Summary Statement" [1850], p. 12).

68. The Protestant Orphan Asylum Society, formed May 2, 1833, was incorporated, 1835. Stiles, II, 238; III, 834; *B C H S Records*, p. 37.

69. *Constitution* (1831), Art. 4. Sect. 1 and 2. Minutes, R C O A Society, 1830-1843, March, 1830; April, 1831. During its first 100 years the society cared for over 50,000 orphans (*B T*, April 7, 1934).

70. John Murray, probably the sexton-teacher, bought it and another lot, March 17, 1831, for \$800 from the Jefferson Insurance Company, New York (recorded, Hall of Records, October 22, 1832, Liber 34, p. 260). Walsh paid Murray \$465 for lot 367 on December 18, 1832 (recorded, January 4, 1833, Liber 34, p. 448). It fronted 25 feet on Jay Street, was 187 feet south of Concord Street, and ran west 100 feet.

71. *Star*, April 13, 1831; *T T*, April 16, 23, 1831.

72. *Atlas*, 1855. Cf. *Atlas*, 1869, 1887. The estate of Palmer Buckbee owned this property (Liber 39, p. 81). "The sisters were appointed March 29,

1831, and came in May" (Sister Paula, Emmitsburg, to author, January 16, 1939, citing community archives). This agrees with "Protestant," footnote 82 *infra*. Dubois wrote, "When at Havre I understood that you were appointed for Brooklyn" (Dubois, New York, December 9, 1831, to Sister Rose, cited in *Mother Rose White* [Emmitsburg, 1936], p. 140). Cf. *Memoirs of the First Mothers of the Sisters of Charity in the United States* (New York, 1884), p. 46. The *B D*, 1832-1833, published about June, 1832 (no *B D* published 1827, 1828, 1831), lists under "Names Omitted" on p. 77: "Sisters of Charity, 211 Fulton Street." However, the Jottings of Sister Maria Louise (superior, 1885-1901), of Mount St. Vincent, New York, declare the sisters came 1826 or 1828, lived at 277 (not 211) Fulton and, 1832, moved to Jay Street (Sister Mary, Mount St. Vincent, to author, December 2, 1938). Arrival in 1828 given by Meehan, "Pioneer Times in Brooklyn," *HRS*, II (1901), 185; *C Y*, October 19, 1890; Meehan, III, 531; Mulrenan, p. 11. James J. Dougherty, *The Life of Mother Elizabeth Boyle* (New York, 1893), p. 155, and Bayley (1870), p. 100, state 1830.

73. *C Y*, October 19, 1890; Jottings of Sister Maria Louise.

74. Patrick Moran to J. B. Purcell, Emmitsburg, October 31, 1832 (A M S M C). Property on the east side of Jay Street was purchased in 1834 by the Church trustees from George McCloskey, milkman, and Ellen his wife for \$1,675. It adjoined the original church property on its southern side, extended 409 feet east and 30 feet on Jay Street (two indentures made May 1, 1834, and recorded June 9, 1834, Liber 41, pp. 196-199). McCloskey had bought it from Benjamin Clapp and Joseph Moser on May 9, 1833, for the same amount (recorded, May 24, 1833, Liber 36, p. 239). In turning the property over to the trustees, whose agent he was, McCloskey added the proviso that "within ten years" a "good substantial brick dwelling house" be built and furnished to serve "forever" as a "parsonage . . . for . . . the priest or parson of the said Church." The trustees protested this limitation and appealed to the famous lawyer Charles O'Connor. He counselled patience (O'Connor to trustees, May 12, 1834, A D B). On September 23, 1837, McCloskey signed an identical indenture excluding the parsonage condition (recorded, September 26, 1837, Liber 72, p. 347). Nearly 70 years later the present rectory was built on this property.

75. Minutes, R C O A Society, November 11, December 9, 1832. Walsh transferred the vacant south lot to the society in 1834 (Minutes, R C O A Society, July 13, 1834; March 12, December 10, 1837).

76. *B D*, 1832-1834.

77. Meehan, p. 533.

78. *C D*, 1834-1840. Six certificates of merit, dated 1835 and 1837, awarded Rosine Parmentier of St. Mary's School, "Rev. J. Walsh, patron," are in the archives of the Sisters of St. Joseph, Brentwood.

79. "Bishop Dubois on New York in 1836," *HRS*, X (1917), 126.

80. Minutes, R C O A Society, March 12, 1837.

81. Williams, *New York As It Is in 1835* (New York, 1835), p. 48.

82. *Star*, April 23, 1835.

83. She was Mary Ann Josephine Harvey, born in 1819. As Sister Eleanor she taught in Pittsburgh, 1837-1843, then left for Cincinnati. Her community became independent of Emmitsburg, 1853, and she became superior shortly after. She died in 1895 (*B T*, October 23, 1923). Cf. Sister Mary Agnes Mc-

Cann, *Mother Seton's Daughters, The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati* (New York, 1917-1923).

84. *CD*, 1839.

85. Minutes, R C O A Society.

86. *BDE*, April 26, 1894.

87. *NYWRCD*, February 28, 1835.

88. Cf. *Star*, October 6, 1836; *NYWRCD*, October 8, 1836; *Green Banner*, October 1, 1836; and *TT*, October 15, 18, 22, 1836; Minutes, R C O A Society, August and September 1836.

89. *Star*, November 16, December 18, 1837; *TT*, November 25, 1837.

90. *Ibid.*, March 18, 1837; *Green Banner*, March 27, 1837; *Star*, January 1, August 13, 1838.

91. *NYWRCD*, April 11, 1835; February 2, April 2, 20, 1835. Donations were sent to Rev. Mr. Walsh, 107 Nassau Street; Mrs. Parmentier, secretary of the Ladies R C O A Society; Mrs. Bazeley at the Collegiate Institute, Hicks Street; or left at the orphan asylum (*NYWRCD*, February 14, 1835; *TT*, March 21, 1835; *Star*, April 23, 1835, Minutes, R C O A Society).

92. *TT*, September 24, 1837; *Star*, September 21, 28, 1837; Minutes, R C O A Society, May 6, 1838.

93. Recorded, November 15, 1837, Liber 73, pp. 257-61. The R C O A Society conveyed three Jay Street lots, including the orphanage, to the trustees of St. James', November 15, 1837 (recorded, March 12, 1838, Liber 75, p. 21).

94. Minutes, Board of Directors, R C O A Society, 1837-1840, and Minutes, R C O A Society, 1830-1843, speak of brown and blue stone, but not of a seminary or Nyack. The following say the stone came from Nyack seminary: Hassard, *op.cit.*, p. 189; Meehan, "Self-Effaced Philanthropist," *CHR*, IV (1918), 12; Scanlan, *op.cit.*, p. 6; Merrick, p. 135; Herbermann, "Dubois," p. 323; *CR*, October 26, 1878; Bayley (1853 ed.), p. 92, and (1870 ed.), p. 116. King of Orange Street designed some Protestant churches (W. H. Tole, *Memorial of St. Paul's Church* [Newburgh, 1888]). The building "would soon be ready" (*Star*, August 9, 1838).

95. Minutes, R C O A Society, May 13, 1838.

96. Motions were made, October 14, 1838, that the sisters be moved to the new asylum, and, November 11, that Murray drive two sisters from the asylum to St. James' and back @ 3/ per day (Minutes, Board of Directors, 1837-1847). Carroll, *BCHS Records*, p. 44, says the sisters moved about January, 1841.

97. Minutes, Board of Directors, R C O A Society, 1837-1847; Minutes, R C O A Society, August 8, 1839.

98. This enlarged building was about 36 feet square (*Atlas*, 1855, 1869, 1887, 1903). Cf. *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888; *St. James' Centennial*, p. 22.

99. Minutes, Board of Directors, R C O A Society, May 15, 1839.

100. Sister Mary Paul, St. Joseph's College, Emmitsburg, to author, January 16, 1939, March 19, 1941, citing archives. The sisters lived "opposite the Church" (*BD*, 1837-1839); unlocated (*BD*, 1839-1840); 144 and 161 Jay Street (*BD*, 1840-1842). Thereafter the *BD* does not locate them in the parish. The *CD*, 1841-1847, mentions St. James' Free School of "200 to 400" girls taught by three Sisters of Charity. Thereafter, until *CD*, 1852, 300 to 400 girls.

101. *F J*, April 17, 24, 1841, when Father Power gave a charity sermon for it.

102. *B D*, 1839-1840, compiled probably the spring of 1839, locates him at 149 Jay; its list of persons locates him in "the house opposite the church."

103. *F J*, August 28, September 4, 1841.

104. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1852; Corrigan, II, 53; "Register of Clergy," *B C H S Records*, pp. 24, 25; *History of St. Paul's Parish, Harlem*.

105. *NY W R C D*, May 2, 1835; *T T*, May 2, 1835.

106. September 1, 1836 (recorded, October 14, 1836, Liber 65, p. 43). A confirming deed was signed January 30 (recorded, April 13, 1841, Liber 95, p. 86). In neither deed, nor in the orphan asylum deed of October 30, 1837, is there reference to college or seminary.

107. The land was worth \$8,000 (Vallette in Ross, I, 800; Vallette in *USCH Mag*, III, 292; Prime, p. 396). The trustees of St. James' spent \$4,000 on foundations (*Cath Exam*, April 17, 1886). Harper, of 166 York Street, was a St. James' pioneer (*St. James' Centennial*, 24; Meehan, III, 582; *T T*, August 13, 20, 1836; *Star*, March 14, 1836; Tole, *op.cit.*).

108. *Star*, December 15, 19, 1836.

109. *T T*, December 24, 1836.

110. Vallette in Ross, I, 800; Vallette in *USCH Mag*, p. 292; *Cath Exam*, April 17, 1886; Mulrenan, p. 12; Prime, p. 396; B. F. Thompson, *History of Long Island* (New York, 1918), II, 256; *B D*, 1837, p. 130. Cf. *Star*, October 19, 21, 26, 1837.

111. *T T*, January 13, 1838. The fifty-cent admission ticket would "cause the audience to be more select and secure their comfort and convenience" (*Star*, January 15, 1838).

112. *B D*, 1838-1839. Waters was a Franciscan (Tole, *op.cit.*, p. 5; Meehan, *Cath Exam*, April 17, 1886, and *Bk Cit*, May 6, 1888). The *CD*, 1837, locates him in the Philadelphia diocese. George O'Donnell, *St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook* (Philadelphia, 1943), p. 243, lists him as of that diocese. He came to St. James' in 1837 (*CD*, 1838) which has no baptism records, August, 1837, to November, 1840, or marriage records, August, 1837, to April, 1842. He preached there (*Star*, November 16, 26, December 18, 1837; *T T*, November 25, 1837). The *T T*, July 7, 14, 1838, eulogized him for receiving five converts. In June, 1839, he received subscriptions for St. Paul's and St. Monica's (*T T*, June 15, 1839). Neither the *B D*, nor *CD*, after 1839 list a Father Waters.

113. The trustees' preferences and Hughes' prophecy told by Cardinal McCloskey, *Reminiscences*, A A N Y, A-32, 34. Cf. Farley, *Cardinal McCloskey* (New York, 1918), p. 123; Farley, "Cardinal McCloskey," *H R S*, II (1901), 289; *B D E*, May 4, 9, 1848; *Star*, May 14, 1848.

114. A A N Y, A-17; Cf. *Ibid.*, A-18. Petitions by parishioners for and against incorporation were filed with the Legislature in 1839 shortly before Waters' dismissal (*Star*, March 4, 14, April 15, 29, May 6, 13, 1839).

115. Father Nicholas wrote on the first page of the Baptism and Marriage Register of St. Paul's Church, 1839-1846: "*A.D. 1839. Reg. Ecclesiae Divi Pauli, Brooklynii. Die 1a Julii, Revmus D. D. Joannes Dubois, Epis. Neo Eboracensis elegit nominavitque P. Fr. Nicolaum O'Donnell, dictae Ecclesiae Pastorem, ac P. Fr. Jacobum O'Donnell, ejus Coadjutorem. Die vero 16a praedictam ecclesiam Patribus Ordinis Erem. S. Augustini benigne concessit, ut ab ipsis*

in spiritualibus regatur, et aptis missionariis provideatur; qui tamen, durante tantum Ordinarii beneplacito, officium pastorale, cum cura animarum, exercere valeant." Nicholas was ordained for the Augustinian congregation at Rome, 1825; was editor, *Philadelphia Catholic Herald*, 1833-1838; supervised the *Catholic Register* while in Brooklyn. James entered the community in Philadelphia; was ordained by Dubois, 1837. Cf. Francis E. Tourscher, O.S.A., *Old St. Augustine's* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 68, footnote 60; Tourscher, *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence* (Lancaster, 1920), p. 26, Frenaye to Kenrick, July 16, 1839; William Quarter, New York, to Butler, Emmitsburg, April 4, 1837 (A M S M C): Tole, *op.cit.*, p. 6; *Cath Exam*, April 17, 1886; Vallette in *USCH Mag*, p. 292; Vallette in Ross, I, 801; *BCHS Records*, p. 62; Corrigan, II (1901), 238, 242.

116. *NYC Register*, November 21, 1839; *BD*, 1840-1846.

117. Nicholas O'Donnell, August 2, 1839, to Mrs. Rudolph, Bellaire, Pa. Cf. Tourscher, O.S.A., "Old St. Augustine's in Philadelphia and Its Missions," *ACHS Records*, XLV (1934), 41-42; J. H. Griffin, O.S.A., to author, February 6, 1940. Cf. Tourscher, *Old St. Augustine's*, pp. 70-71. A few weeks later she sent a horse (N. O'Donnell to Thos. Kyle, O.S.A., October 4, 1839, cited by Corrigan, II [1901], 238).

118. A gift of \$50 came to St. Paul's from the Paris and Lyons Councils of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, "un autre mandat sur M. O'Donnell, augustinian, de la valeur de 50 piastres ci . . . 262.50 [francs]" (Soc. Prop. of the Faith, Paris, to Hughes, July 27, 1840, A A N Y, A-14). Thomas Mulligan paid \$16 for rent of pew No. 122 from August to November 1, 1838 (receipt, A D B). From June 20 to September 29, 1839, pew rent amounted to \$297.70; collections to \$687.48 (Sister Noline, MSS., History St. Paul's Parish, Brooklyn, 1944).

119. *CD*, 1839.

120. *FJ*, January 3, 1841. Ten Sisters of Charity were buried there between November 4, 1841, and May, 1885 (*FJ*, November 13, 1841; *CD*, 1842; Meehan, "A Village Churchyard," *HRS*, VII [1914], 195). Some bodies were removed (Meehan, press, May 6, 1888).

121. C. M. B., *Biographical Sketch of Cornelius Heeney* (New York, 1875); Meehan, "Some Pioneer Catholic Laymen," *HRS*, IV (1906), 292; W. H. Bennett, *Catholic Footsteps* (New York, 1909), p. 452; Stiles, *County of Kings*, II, 990; III, 726; Bennett, "Cornelius Heeney," *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, XVII (New York, 1918), 215-233; Idem, *100th Anniversary, Brooklyn Benevolent Society* (Brooklyn, 1945); Meehan, "A Self-Effaced Philanthropist," *CHR*, IV (1918), 3; Idem, "John Jacob Astor's Partner," *America*, XLI (1929), 82; K. W. Porter, *John Jacob Astor* (Cambridge, 1931), II, 54, 366, 1047, 1068; *USCH Mag*, IV (1891), 1; Hone, *op.cit.*, pp. 717, 850; Trustees' Minute Book, St. Peter's Church (A A N Y); Farley, "McCloskey" and *McCloskey*; *BDE*, April 29, May 4, 9, 30, 1847; June 2, 9, 1848; *Star*, May 4, 1848; Conveyances, Liber 8, p. 166; Ludlam Survey Maps T C 15 and 214 of May, 1835, Hall of Records; Gabriel Furman, "Notes on Brooklyn," pp. 23, 115; Merrick, p. 135; *Irish-American*, September 10, 1891; *CN*, October 26, 1907.

122. J. O'Donnell, letter from Brooklyn, September 14, 1841, *ACHS Records*, XIV (1903), 60.

123. *LI Historical Society Quarterly* (January, 1940), pp. 6, 7; *Report*,

Parmentier-Bayer Centenary Commission, 1925; Meehan, "Andrew Parmentier, Horticulturist, and His Daughter, Madame Bayer," *H R S*, III (1903), 440 ff; "Letters of Rev. P. J. De Smet, S.J.," *H R S*, V (1907), 119 ff, 463 ff, 542; Meehan, "The Dream of Rosine Parmentier," *America*, XXX (1925), 325; Stiles, II, 173; *Star*, August 31, 1826; October 5, 1831; September 26, 1832; June 12, July 10, October 23, November 20, 1833; *The Eagle and Brooklyn* (1893), p. 1104; Bennett, *Handbook to Historical New York* (New York, 1927), p. 100; B. F. Thompson, *History of Long Island* (New York, 1843), II, 239; *Brooklyn Botanic Garden Record*, October, 1923; Mary J. Lowery, MS., The Brooklyn Parmentier Family; *C N*, December 28, 1907; January 4, February 22, 1908; *New York Post*, September 1, 1825; *C R*, May 13, 1882; November 9, 1892; March 10, 1894; February 26, 1898; *N Y W R C D*, January 16, 1840; *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, May, 1898; Rosine Parmentier's will (Archives, Sisters of St. Joseph).

CHAPTER VI

1. Meline-McSweeney, *Story of the Mountain* (Emmitsburg, 1911), I, 162; Thomas G. Taaffe, *History of St. John's College, Fordham* (New York, 1891); *C N*, June 17, 1939.

2. J. Dubois to J. B. Purcell, July 2, September 29, 1835 (A U N D); Guilday, *Life and Times of John England* (New York, 1927), II, 345, 396; Ryan, p. 176; Cardinal McCloskey's Reminiscences (1882), MS., A A N Y, A-34, A-32.

3. To Bishop Mathias Loras, of Dubuque, October, 1846, cited by M. M. Hoffman, *The Church Founders of the Northwest* (Milwaukee, 1937), p. 219.

4. Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* (New York, 1925), pp. 80, 126, 131; Richard J. Purcell, "Immigration from the Canal Era to the Civil War," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1935), VII, 52-57; W. B. Guthrie, "Migration," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, X, 297.

5. *B D E*, August 5, 1846; December 19, 1853; R. G. Albion and J. B. Pope, *The Rise of New York Port* (New York, 1939), p. 349; Augustus J. Thebaud, S.J., *Forty Years in the United States of America* (New York, 1904), pp. 213 ff; Valentine's *Manual of the Common Council . . . of New York* (1849), p. 311.

6. Purcell, *op.cit.*, p. 57; J. H. Callendar, *Yesterdays on Brooklyn Heights* (New York, 1927), p. 85; Joseph Salzbacher, "Meine Reise Nach Nord Amerika im Jahre 1842," translated copy kindly loaned author by Thomas Cleary. Cf. "Notes and Comment," *C H R*, I (1915), 357.

7. They crowded into hovels with filth and bad air, poisoned by eating garbage a well bred dog disdained (Hone, *Diary of Philip Hone, 1828-1851*, ed. Allan Nevins [New York, 1936], pp. 785, 881; Furman, Manuscript Notes, VII, 469, similarly). However, *B D E*, October 21, 1842, and *F J*, August 20, 1853, give instances of self-supporting and respectable immigrant backgrounds. In 1843 each immigrant entered the country with \$20; in 1856, with \$68 (Purcell, *op.cit.*, pp. 54, 57).

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

9. *Tory Whig* cited, *B D E*, November 6, 1843.

10. *Works*, XVIII (Detroit, 1885), 289. Cf. Theodore Maynard, *Orestes Brownson* (New York, 1943).

11. *The Metropolitan* (Baltimore, 1853), p. 410.
12. *F J*, September 7, 1850; *The Metropolitan* (1853), p. 466.
13. W. A. Burke to J. Purcell, Mount St. Mary's, May 28, 1830 (A M S M C).
14. A. Greene, *A Glance at New York in 1837* (New York, 1837); *Star*, September 17, 1835. Cf. Louise Callan, R.S.C.J., *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America* (New York, 1937), p. 318; Hone, *op.cit.*, p. 395.
15. John Hughes to John B. Purcell, New York, March 18, 1838 (A U N D).
16. Cf. J. R. G. Hassard, *Life of the Most Rev. John Hughes* (New York, 1866), pp. 286, 389; H. A. Brann, *Most Reverend John Hughes* (New York, 1912); Shea, III, 518 ff; IV, 104 ff; Smith, I, 154, 226; "Documents," *C H R*, III (1917), 336; Purcell, *op.cit.*, pp. 50, 51; *Star*, December 14, 1847; Meehan, "Archbishop Hughes and Mexico," *H R S*, XIX (1929), 33-40.
17. Charles J. Mahoney, *The Relation of the State to Religious Education in Early New York* (Washington, 1941), pp. 127 ff. For examples in prejudiced textbooks, cf. "Early History of the Catholic Church in New York," *Catholic World*, X (1879), 525 f.
18. Richard J. Gabel, *Public Funds for Church and Private Schools* (Washington, 1937), pp. 356 f; Ryan, pp. 245 ff.
19. Zwierlein, "Catholic Church in New York State," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1937), IX, 177. Cf. Purcell, *op.cit.*, VII, 50.
20. Gabel, *op.cit.*, pp. 271, 357; Ryan, p. 248; Shea, III, 532. The *Truth Teller* helped defeat the Catholic petition (Ryan, p. 190; Zwierlein, "Catholic Church in New York State," IX, 177; Zwierlein, I, 307; H. J. Browne, "Public Support of Catholic Education in New York, 1825-1842: Some New Aspects," *H R S*, XLI [1953], 14-41; Henry M. Hald, "The Catholic School Debate of 1840," *Catholic World* [October, 1932], pp. 38-44; Sister Marie Carolyn Klinkhamer, O.P., "Historical Reason for Inception of Parochial School System," *Catholic Educational Review* [February, 1954], pp. 73-94).
21. Shea, III, 530. Cf. Ryan, p. 252.
22. Ryan, p. 252. Cf. Shea, III, 529; Laurence Kehoe, *Complete Works of Reverend John Hughes* (New York, 1866), I, 144; Peter Condon, "Constitutional Freedom of Religion and the Revivals of Religious Intolerance," *H R S*, IV (1906), 185.
23. Condon, *op.cit.*, IV, 186; Shea, III, 532; Hone, *op.cit.*, p. 571.
24. Smith, II, 326; J. G. Wilson, *Memorial History of the City of New York* (New York, 1892), III, 389 ff; Shea, IV, 108.
25. Zwierlein, "Bishop McQuaid of Rochester," *C H R*, V (1919), 45, citing Hassard, *op.cit.*, p. 338. Cf. A A N Y, A-19.
26. Cf. Gabel, *op.cit.*, pp. 705, 722. Horace Mann, apostle of public schools, thought them "the greatest discovery ever made by man," designed to train children through religious education without theology" (Gabel, p. 267). He upheld the dogma of non-sectarianism and by political lobbying imposed his views on others. Yet he said: "If a man is taxed to support a school, where religious doctrines are inculcated which he believes to be false . . . then he is excluded from the schools by that divine law, at the same time that he is compelled to support it by human law. This is a double wrong" (Gabel, p. 282). This was Hughes' position.

27. Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884* (New York, 1932), p. 142.

28. Smith, I. 232. The future first Bishop of St. Paul, Joseph Cretin, reported in 1846, "The most . . . tolerant Protestants believe Catholicism fatal to the country" (Hoffman, *op.cit.*, p. 223). Cf. Ray A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860 . . .* (New York, 1938), p. 216; Hone, *op.cit.*, pp. 604, 745.

29. Shea, IV, 52; Condon, *op.cit.*, IV, 191 ff.

30. Smith, I, 227 ff; Hassard, *op.cit.*, pp. 274 ff; Zwierlein, "Catholic Church in New York State," *Hist State N Y*, IX, 180; Shea, IV, 106; Condon, *op.cit.*, IV, 200.

31. Shea, IV, 123; Condon, *op.cit.*, IV, p. 213; Thebaud, *op.cit.*, pp. 181, 202.

32. Shea, IV, 54 f; Smith, I, 231; Zwierlein, "Catholic Church in New York State," *History of the State of New York*, IX, 180.

33. Hughes to Propaganda, January 22, 1845 (A A N Y, A-7).

34. Cf. Roslyn Plain Dealer, December 20, 1850.

35. Smith, I, 103; Ryan, pp. 186 ff; Gerald C. Treacy, S.J., "The Evils of Trusteeism," *H R S*, VIII (1915), 142.

36. Smith, I, 145. For some passages at arms cf. also Zwierlein, "Catholic Church in New York State," p. 181; Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., *Pioneer Catholic Journalism* (New York, 1930), pp. 192 ff; Shea, IV, 123.

37. Murray, weaned from Catholicism while in Harper's employ, became a Presbyterian minister and grandfather of Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, 1901-1945 (Shea, IV, 115; Condon, *op.cit.*, p. 205). Cf. *Star*, August 18, 1848.

38. James Alphonsus McMaster, born in Duanesburg, New York, in 1820, became a Catholic, 1845, and with the first Paulists entered the Redemptorist novitiate in Belgium, but soon returned to lay life. Cf. Foik, *op.cit.*, p. 196; Shea, IV, 472; Maurice F. Egan, "James Alphonsus McMaster," *H R S*, XV (1921), 9 ff; Meehan, "The First Catholic Monthly Magazines," *H R S*, XXXI (1940), 142; Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., *Father Hecker and His Friends* (New York, 1952), pp. 17 ff.

39. Hassard, *op.cit.*, p. 300; Foik, *op.cit.*, pp. 171, 198; Smith, I, 151, 216.

40. Born, Stockbridge, Vt., 1803; died, Detroit, 1876. Probably the ablest writer of his day in America. Cf. Theodore Maynard, *op.cit.*, and his *Story of American Catholicism* (New York, 1941); Laurence Roemer, *Brownson on Democracy and the Trend toward Socialism* (New York, 1953). Brownson's bust was recently removed from Riverside Drive to Fordham University. Brooklyn's Father Mitchell was chairman of the fund campaign for it. Cf. *C R*, January 1, 1887; May 12, 1888; May 18, 1889; M. F. Thomas, "A National Brownson Memorial," *H R S*, XXXII (1941), 111-114.

41. Shaughnessy, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

42. The first triple consecration in New York (*F J*, March 16, 1844).

43. Hughes to Society for the Propagation of the Faith, January 22, 1845 (copy, A A N Y, A-7); Hughes to Leopoldine Society, April 16, 1840 (A A N Y, A-34). Cf. Hassard, *op.cit.*, p. 213; Kehoe, *op.cit.*, II, 459.

44. Society for the Propagation of the Faith to Hughes, 1840-1859 (A A N Y, A-14). Edward J. Hickey, *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith* (Washington, 1922), p. 188.

45. C. G. Herbermann, "Diamond Jubilee of Fordham University," *HR S*, X (1917), 120; Golda G. Stander, "Jesuit Educational Institutions in the City of New York, 1683-1860," *HR S*, XXIV (1934), 254; Hughes to U. S. Consul Schwarz, Vienna, October 31, 1840; Leopoldine Society to Hughes, June 12, 1847 (A A N Y, A-17, A-12).

46. St. James', Brooklyn, gave \$400 (Register, New York Church Debt Association, A A N Y; *F J*, November 27, 1841).

47. Shea, III, 535; IV, 113, 144; Zwierlein, "Catholic Church in New York State," *History of the State of New York*, IX, 179.

48. Hughes to Society for the Propagation of the Faith, January 22, 1845 (copy, A A N Y, A-6, A-7).

49. C. G. Herbermann, "Rt. Rev. John Dubois," *HR S*, I (1900), 323; Stander, *op.cit.*, pp. 254 ff; *Fordham University Prospectus, 1939-1940*; New York Times, September 14, 1941; Shea, III, 533; Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., "Fordham's Jesuit Beginnings," *Thought*, XVI (March, 1941), 17-39; *America*, LXIV (November 30, 1940), 204-205; Corrigan, II, 246; John Cardinal Farley, *Life of Cardinal McCloskey* (New York, 1918), pp. 246, 261; A A N Y, A-19; *Souvenir, Dedication of McCaddin Memorial* (Brooklyn, 1898), p. 38; *U S C Mag*, III (1844), 295; *C D*, 1842-1847; J. R. Bayley (ed. 1870), pp. 224 ff; Arthur J. Scanlan, *St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, 1896-1921* (New York, 1922), pp. 14, 15. John McCloskey was first president of the college. John Harley, Brooklyn-born 1816, ordained 1842, died 1846, was second. Patrick Fitzsimmons, a deacon from DeKalb Street, Brooklyn, died February 10, 1842 (*F J*, February 19, 1842).

50. W. H. Farming, "Provincial Councils of Baltimore," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, 240; Guilday, *History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884*; John J. Considine, *Canonical Legislation of the Diocese and Province of New York, 1842-1861* (Washington, 1937).

51. Smith, I, 212.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

53. Shea, IV, 369.

54. *Star*, December 1, 6, 1847; April 19, 1848; *U S C Mag*, VII (1848), 50; *Metropolitan*, I (March, 1853), 53; *F J*, August 25, 1849; May 16, 1850.

55. 96,838 lived in the city of Brooklyn; 3,139 in Bushwick; 30,780 in Williamsburg, and the rest elsewhere in Kings (Stiles, II, 291, 295; III, 564); *Manual of the Common Council of Brooklyn, 1850*.

56. *B D E*, March 20, 1848.

57. Prime, p. 58; *B D E*, July 29, 1844; Stiles, II, 252; III, 564.

58. *B D E*, May 2, 1849; August 29, 1853; Hone, *op.cit.*, p. 748; H. I. Hazelton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens . . .* (Chicago, 1925), III, 1194; Stiles, II, 262, 283, 291, 420; *Manual, Common Council of Brooklyn, 1859*.

59. Stiles, II, 285; *B D E*, June 14, 1849; *Annual Report of the Health Officer of Deaths in the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1852), p. 40; J. C. Hutchinson, *History . . . Cholera in Brooklyn, 1854* (New York, 1855), p. 105; Ross, I, 420. Hone, *op.cit.* p. 880, described the victims as "filthy," "intemperate," "unused to the comforts of life."

60. Hone, *op.cit.*; *F J*, July 11, September 22, 1849; *Valentine's Manual* (1849), p. 331.

61. Prime, p. 333; Benjamin F. Thompson, *History of Long Island* (New York, 1918), III, 278; Hone, *op.cit.*, p. 601. Miss Flynn; Mr. and Mrs. C. Burke; Mr. and Mrs. F. B. Conway; Mr. Barry, Irish caricaturist; Catherine Hayes, celebrated vocalist; Henrietta Sontag, lyric soprano; Paul Jullien, Signors Rocco and Pazzolini (Stiles, III, 910 ff; Idem, *History of the County of Kings*, II, 1110, 1128 f.

62. *N Y C Register*, April 23, 30, 1840; *B D E*, November 6, 1841; April 5, 1842; October 29, 1849; April 1, 1853.

63. Stiles, III, 928 ff.

64. *The Circular* (Brooklyn), July 25, 1854; Prime, p. 366; Stiles, II, 496.

65. *B D E*, May 3, 1847.

66. Prime, p. 282; *B D E*, March 6, 1844; *The Circular*, October 19, 1853.

67. Weld, p. 256; Prime, p. 411; Smith's *Brooklyn Directory*, 1854-1855.

68. *F J*, August 28, September 4, 18, 25, October 2, 1841; June 10, 17, 24, July 1, September 23, October 7, December 2, 1843; March 23, April 6, July 20, August 6, October 19, 26, 1844.

69. Sag Harbor *Corrector*, February 13, 1847; *B D E*, February 5, March 23, 1847; *Star*, March 1, 24, 1847; Hassard, *op.cit.*, p. 203; Hone, *op.cit.*, pp. 783, 788, 792; Rev. J. R. Bayley's *Circular* (New York), February 22, 1847 (A U N D). St. Paul's gave \$1,000; St. James', \$921.39; Assumption, \$432; St. Mary's, \$230; Holy Trinity, \$48 (*Star*, February 27, 1847; *F J*, March 6, 1847).

70. At Washington Hall, Tillary and Adams Streets (*F J*, December 31, 1842). The fifth ball, 1847, was to build a male orphanage (*Star*, December 22, 1847; *B D*, 1848-1849, p. 324).

71. At Smith's City Hotel, Fulton Street near City Hall (original invitation, A D B); *T T*, January 19, 1839.

72. *B C K C R* (1855), p. 188; Stiles, II, 251 ff; III, 856 f; *B D E*, February 28, 1894.

73. Of some 650 persons possessing \$10,000 or more in 1847, 60 were Irish (Lomas and Peace, *Wealthy Men and Women of Brooklyn* . . . [1847]; Hazelton, *op.cit.*, III, 1194; Stiles, II, 280-282). For Irish names among 623 civil officials in Brooklyn, cf. *Manual of the Common Council* (Brooklyn, 1855) and *B C K C R*.

74. Hearne's *Brooklyn Directory*, 1853-1854, pp. 25 ff. This Irish sprinkling was not entirely Catholic, for twice included is Episcopalian Dr. Thorne. Irish doctors were McKenna, Hagerty, Thomas P. Norris, Whalen, George Gilfillan, C. R. McClellan, Henry J. Cullen, Joseph P. Colgan, John Cochran. Cf. *F J*, December 3, 1842; May 20, October 17, 1843; August 4, 1849; Stiles, *History of the County of Kings*, II, 889, 902; Ross, I, 600 f. Some Irish lawyers were Daniel Egan, L. Danaher, John O'Hara, Charles J. Lowry, Stephen B. Brophy, Alex. McCue, and non-Catholic H. C. Murphy (*B D*, 1848; Edward J. McGuire, "The Catholic Bar of New York," *H R S*, V [1907], 421; Ross, I, 638; *B D E*, April 26, 1894).

75. Hearne, *op.cit.*; John Furey, "Some Catholic Names in the U. S. Navy List," *H R S*, VI (1911), 170 ff. Some Irishmen belonged to the Brooklyn City Guards and to the Napper Tandy Light Artillery (*F J*, July 9, 1842; Stiles, II, 439; III, 949 ff). Of 35 Mexican war survivors living in Brooklyn in 1901, five were Irish, one Portuguese, General Francis E. Pinto, and one Italian (Ross, I, 764 f). Colonel Belton and General Charles P. Stone had remarkable records (*U S C H Mag* [1887], pp. 3, 5, 222).

76. *Manual of the Common Council, Brooklyn City and Kings County*, 1855.

77. *Historical Sketch of St. Mary's Parish, Albany, 1797-1897* (Albany, 1897); *A C H S Researches* (1889), p. 190; John Timon, *Missions in Western New York* (Buffalo, 1862), pp. 216, 220. Biographies of Brooklyn priests will be found in Sharp's *Priests and Parishes*. . . . The curates, 1842-1847, were Michael C. Curran, Hugh Maguire, Jerome Nobriga, O.S.F., Patrick McKenna (*C N*, November 10, 1945; *NYC Register*, March 26, 1840; *B D E*, January 27, 1921).

78. *Atlas*, 1855; H. A. Lees, *Historical Sketches of the Churches of . . . Brooklyn* (1850), p. 24; *B D E*, June 12, 1889; *F J*, March 1, 1890; *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888; Prime, p. 396; Gabriel Furman, *Antiquities of Long Island* (New York, 1874), p. 385. For Keely, cf. Charles W. Kervick, *Patrick Charles Keely* (South Bend, 1953). Smith's Account and Sermon Book, July, 1845, to February, 1847, notes building and altar costs (*A D B*).

79. W. Franquinet, member Royal Academy, Antwerp, who painted Fordham Seminary Chapel, painted it (*Catholic Expositor*, 1844, p. 387; *Catholic Herald*, January 1, 1846; *A C H S Researches*, 1888, p. 165).

80. *F J*, September 19, 1846.

81. *F J*, October 7, 1843. Shanley conducted schools at Fleet and Willoughby and at Front Street (testimony of Mrs. Kelly to LICH Society, February 20, 1895 [*A D B*]; *C N*, December 12, 1908).

82. *B D E*, November 17, 1846. Other private schools were conducted by: Dennis Foley, 250 Front Street, 1851-1854, at which latter date he entered a monastery; the Colemans, 54 Little Street; O'Brien, Little Street; Misses Brady, York Street (Kelly, *op.cit.*); the Grilles of Paris, at Navy and Fulton Streets; Miss Kennedy, Willoughby Street, later on Nassau Street; Joshua and Elizabeth Healy, Nassau Street, later on Fulton Street. Cf. *F J*, March 19, May 28, July 16, August 6, 1842; *B D*, 1840-1842.

83. *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888. Cf. *St. James' Centennial* (1922), p. 23; Meehan, III, 535.

84. *B D E*, September 19, 1846; *Atlas*, 1855 and 1869, mark it "School." *Atlas*, 1887, marks it "Young Men's Literary Association." *Atlas*, 1903, shows the entire plot covered by St. James' Academy and Hall. Smith's Account and Sermon Book lists building costs. Cf. Lees, *op.cit.*; *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888.

85. *B D*, 1840-1842, locates the sisters at 144 and then at 161 Jay Street and is silent thereafter. *C D*, 1841-1845, mentions St. James' Free School for girls taught by the sisters; 1846-1852, mentions the school but neither pupils nor teachers; 1853, speaks only of 150 girls at the Free School; 1854-1855, states they are under "competent teachers"; 1856, lists the Sisters of Mercy. They never occupied "the castle."

86. Shea, IV, 33, 34, 110; Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States* (New York, 1916), pp. 227 f; Blanche M. Kelly, *The Sisters of Charity* (New York, 1921). Sister Mary Ursula Mattingly left St. James' for Emmitsburg. Sister Mary Constantia Hull, born at Fredericksburg, Md., remained in Brooklyn (Sister Mary Noeline, MS., "History of St. Paul's Parish").

87. *B D E*, November 17, 1846.

88. Lord, II, 518, 564; Corrigan, II, 56; *Star*, July 7, 1848; December 8, 1855; *Long Island Democrat*, December 18, 1855.

89. Born, Ireland, 1792; ordained for Clogher Diocese; *exeat* for New York, March 13, 1839 (A D B); assisted at St. James', 1840-1841 (C D, 1840-1854; F J, October 9, 1853; B C H S Records, p. 28; H R S, II, p. 255; Cardinal McCloskey's Reminiscences, 1882 [A A N Y, A-34]).

90. Edward Maginnis, 1847; Eugene Maguire, 1848; John Quinn, 1848-1852, who "often carried the fever-stricken patients . . . in his arms" (C R, July 26, 1873; F J, August 14, September 18, 1852; Corrigan, V, 169); Eugene Cassidy, 1853-1857; Samuel A. Mulledy, 1853. Francis Gillespie, 1850-1851, and Edward S. Briody, 1849-1851, also cared for Flatbush and Fort Hamilton.

91. *Atlas*, 1855, 1869, 1887, 1903; *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888; *St. James' Centennial* (1922), pp. 6, 10. The alleys, described in *Bk Cit*, August 21, 1892, then east and south of the school, became [Hugh] McLaughlin Park, 1903.

92. Manhattan College Archives; F J, February 25, 1871; C R, June 14, 1873; *Souvenir, Dedication, St. James* (1903); B T, April 21, 1917. The B C K C R (1855), p. 121, says 195-197 Jay Street.

93. F J, April 4, 1853. Cf. C D, 1852-1854; F J, October 5, 1853; March 15, 1854; B T, April 21, 1917; Murray, p. 429; Edward J. Power, "Brownson's Attitude toward Catholic Education," *A C H S Records*, LXIII (1952), 110-128. Cf. *infra*, Chap. XI, fn. 92.

94. Cf. *infra*, Chap. VIII, fn. 108 ff.

95. C D, 1854. Cf. F J, October 9, 1853; testimony of Marriott McKinney to L I C H Society (A D B); Loughlin to Hughes, October 18, November 28, 1862 (A A N Y, A-12).

96. William P. Hogan, relative and fellow religious, helped at St. Paul's and its missions, 1844-1849; Philip Borgna, C.M., 1844 (C D, 1845-1853; F J, August 21, 1852; Corrigan, II, 237 ff; F. E. Tourscher, O.S.A., *Old St. Augustine's in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 71; *A C H S Researches*, XIV [1903], 60; *B C H S Records*, p. 62).

97. In time to see a Nativist mob destroy St. Augustine's, Philadelphia. In 1848 he became pastor at Lawrence, Massachusetts, and died there, 1861 (*B C H S Records*, 62; Lord, II, 528; III, 299).

98. His flock's testimonial called him "beloved by all . . . a pious and talented divine" (*Catholic Herald*, December 10, 1846; F J, December 5, 1846). He went to Rome as the London *Tablet's* correspondent. From 1848 to 1852 he labored in England. He then became pastor of Verplanck's Point, New York, where he died, 1863 (Tourscher, *op.cit.*, pp. 72, 73, 75; Corrigan, II, 237; Tourscher, "Old St. Augustine's . . .," *A C H S Records*, XLV [March, 1934], 40; *McCaddin Memorial* [1898], p. 37).

99. John P. O'Dwyer, O.S.A., wrote, June 12, 1844 (Joseph L. Shannon, O.S.A., *Villa Nova*, to author, June 15, 1940).

100. This letter, preserved in the community's General Archives, Rome, states: ". . . *Ecclesiam S. Pauli in Civitate Brooklynensi dictis Patribus assignamus, eamque vigore præsentium quantum in nobis est, Ecclesiam ordinis S. Augustini facimus et declaramus, cum omnibus privilegiis, quibus externae Ecclesiae dicti ordinis gaudere solent*" (copy, Shannon to author, June 15, 1940). Cf. Tourscher, *Old St. Augustine's*, p. 69.

101. Cf. *supra*, Chap. V, fn. 115; C. G. Herbermann, "Rt. Rev. John Dubois . . .," *H R S*, I (1900), 343.

102. Austrian-born, entered and left the Society of Jesus, Georgetown;

ordained for New York, 1827; labored there and in New Jersey; went to Albany, 1838. *Bk Cit*, May 6, 1888; *T T*, January 5, 1828; *C N*, November 23, 30, 1907; Vallette in Ross, I, 801; Meehan, III, 582; Corrigan, II, 53; *A A N Y*, A-34; Bishop Blanc to Bishop Purcell, October 20, 1848 (*A U N D*); Kenrick to Hughes, October 6, 1857 (*A A N Y*, A-12); Hughes to Kenrick, October 8, 1851 (*A A B*, 29 H-9).

103. 1848-1850 (Herbermann, "Charles M. DeLuynes," *H R S*, X [1917], 130 ff). Others were John J. Regan, 1850-1852, and John Curoe, 1854; both died early in life at St. Paul's (*F J*, December 18, 1852; December 18, 1853; April 8, 1854; *B D E*, March 31, 1854; *Star*, April 4, 1854; Corrigan, III, 314; IV, 137); Timothy O'Farrell, 1852-1854 (Corrigan, V, 159).

104. He first lived at 74 Warren Street (*B D*, 1847-1850); *B T*, March 11, 1939.

105. *N Y T*, August 6, 1859; *Star*, July 30, 1859; June 4, 1860; *Bk Cit*, May 6, 1888; Tole, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

106. Jottings of Sister Maria Louise, Mount St. Vincent, New York.

107. Joseph F. Keany, *Historical Sketch, R.C.O.A. Society of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1930), p. 30. For Kenny, cf. *F J*, July 31, August 7, 1853.

108. *C D*, 1839-1854.

109. John Carroll's (*F J*, February 23, 1850); McCloskey's (Mrs. Kelly, *op.cit.*). Cf. Sister Mary Noeline, *op.cit.*; Merrick, p. 133.

CHAPTER VII

1. Stiles, II, 392-410; Shea in Stiles, III, 727 f. Bushwick, Greenpoint, and Williamsburg with a population of 57,000 were amalgamated in 1855 with the city of Brooklyn.

2. Vallette in Ross, I, 801; Vallette in *U S C H Mag*, III, 293. The *C D*, 1838, first mentioning Williamsburg, assigns it, Flushing, and Staten Island to Father Patrick Bradley. He began baptizing at St. James', July, 1837, succeeding Father Doherty who served from 1835-1837.

3. Bradley next hired a renovated stable, south side of Grand Street, 200 feet west of Bedford Avenue (*Father Malone's Farewell Address*, May 29, 1881 [Brooklyn, 1881]; *Souvenir, Dedication, McCaddin Memorial* [Brooklyn, 1898]).

4. *F J*, July 25, 1849. Cf. *N Y C Register*, February 27, June 25, 1840. John Brown built it (*C Y*, June 11, 1881; *B D E*, December 13, 1893). O'Donnell began the Parish Register with four marriages in 1839.

5. Plots recorded in Baptismal Register. Burials ceased about 1855. The ground was sold October, 1891, and the remains reinterred at Holy Cross or St. John's (*C R*, February 8, 1890; press, April 13, 1890, and October 2, 1891; Vallette in Ross, I, 803; Vallette in *U S C H Mag*, III, 296; Meehan, "A Village Churchyard," *H R S*, VII [1914], 196).

6. Corrigan, II, 243; *F J*, July 25, 1840.

7. Born at Trim, Ireland, came to New York, 1839, on invitation of Andrew, later Bishop, Byrne. Studied at Lafargeville and Fordham; ordained, August 15, 1844. Outspoken friend of Dr. McGlynn and Brooklyn focus of controversies within the American Church in the 1880's and 1890's. Died,

December 29, 1899. *McCaddin Memorial* (1898); *B D E*, June 24, 1888; May 4, 1890; *Farewell Address* (1881); Ross, I, 460.

8. Recorded, Kings County, Liber 132, p. 338, June 12, 1845; Liber 134, p. 205, July 25, 1845.

9. *F J*, June 5, 1847; May 13, 1848; *Star*, May 29, 1847; May 3, 12, 1848; *C R*, June 11, 1881; *Cath Exam*, May 8, 1886; *B D E*, May 4, 1890; *U S C Mag*, VI (1847), 397.

10. *F J*, October 6, 1849; January 17, 1852.

11. *F J*, November 4, 1854; *B C K C R*, p. 121.

12. *F J*, December 29, 1849; January 14, December 14, 1850; September 2, 1854; Stiles, II, 300; *McCaddin Memorial*, p. 44; *Memorial, Golden Jubilee, Rev. Sylvester Malone* (Brooklyn, 1895), p. 23; *B C K C R*, p. 132.

13. Shea in Stiles, III, 727; *B D E*, May 30, 1894. Assistants were Valentine Burgos, c. 1850; Luigi Venuta, 1851-1853; Philip O'Reilly, 1852.

14. Meehan, III, 560; *Diamond Jubilee, Holy Trinity Church* (Brooklyn, 1916), p. 4; *Centennial Celebration, Holy Trinity Church* (Brooklyn, 1941), p. 5; Bayley (1870), p. 120; *NYT*, July 27, 1861; *Star*, July 18, 20, 1861; *B D E*, April 13, 1890; *Cath Exam*, May 15, 1886; *Bk Cit*, August 28, 1887; N. A. Weber, S.M., "The Rise of National Catholic Churches in the United States," *CH R*, I (1916), 432; C. G. Herbermann, "Rt. Rev. John Dubois. . .," *H R S*, I (1900), 336; Sebastian G. Messmer, "The Establishment of the Capuchin Order in the United States," *H R S*, IV (1906), 65; Meehan, "A Village Churchyard," *H R S*, VII (1914), 196; Corrigan, VII, 201; Meehan, "Very Rev. Johann Stephan Raffener, V.G.," *H R S*, IX (1916), 169; Raymond Knab, C.S.S.R., "Father Joseph Prost, Pioneer Redemptorist," *H R S*, XXII (1932), 40; Theodore Roemer, "The Leopoldine Foundation in the U. S.," *Pioneer German Catholics* (New York, 1933), p. 200; *B C H S Records*, 29; Vallette in *USCH Mag*, III, 300; Shea, III, 486; J. T. Smith, *History of the Diocese of Ogdensburg* (New York, 1885), pp. 36, 305; Zwierlein, I, 78, 84, 112; John Timon, C.M., *Missions in Western New York* (Buffalo, 1862), p. 215; Lord, II, 144.

15. Indenture between Abraham Meserole, Jr., and "John Raffener, Physician" (recorded, Liber 69, p. 223; Liber 99, p. 193, December 8, 1841). Another purchase recorded August 7, 1845, Liber 134, p. 445. The Leopoldine Society sent him \$2,700 in 1843 and \$800 in 1844 (Prince Milde, Archbishop of Vienna, to Bishop Hughes, April 17, 1843; September 19, 1844 [*A A N Y*, A-12, 17]).

16. Parish Records. Joseph Salzbacher, "Meine Reise Nach Nord Amerika im Jahre 1842" (tr. by Thomas Cleary), states Williamsburg had 15,000 people in 1842; 900 attended St. Mary's, and 800, Holy Trinity.

17. Recorded, Kings County, Liber 272, p. 340, March 9, 1852; Queens County, Liber 97, p. 233, June 1, 1852. The cemetery was enlarged, 1863, 1872 ("Reminiscences of Old Brooklynites," *Brooklyn Advance*, 1880, p. 255; Meehan, "A Village Churchyard," *H R S*, VII [1914], 196). By 1938 there were over 130,000 burials.

18. Loughlin dedicated this predecessor of the present church, February 26, 1854 (*F J*, July 2, 3, 1853; February 22, 26, March 5, 1854; *Metropolitan*, I [1853], 348).

19. *B D E*, April 13, 1890; *Cath Exam*, May 15, 1886.

20. Eugene Crawford, *The Daughters of Dominic on Long Island* (New York, 1938), tells the story, pp. 26 ff.

21. Inaugurating a policy of community-owned convents. Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 66; *B C K C R*; *C D*, 1855. The boys were taught by laymen in the basement until 1866.

22. Crawford, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

23. They were Fathers Adalbert Inama, O.Praem., Francis Krutil, C.S.S.R., Peter Cronenberg, C.S.S.R., 1843-1844 (John F. Byrne, C.S.S.R., to author, Esopus, N. Y., December 9, 1938; Corrigan, III, 301); John Van Sende, 1845; John Raffener, Jr., 1848; John Rauffeisen, 1849; Maurus Ramsauer, O.S.B., and Frederick Jung, 1852; Caspar Metzler and Joseph Huber, 1853.

24. Translation of *Katholische Blätter aus Tyrol* (1843), pp. 267-273, 440-444 (*A G U*, 247.2). Cf. "Notes and Comment," *H R S*, X (1917), 182.

25. Recorded, Liber 323, p. 156, May 14, 1853. Other property was bought, February 15, 18, 1854 (Sister Mary Ignatius, C.S.J., to author, April 2, 1953).

26. *Metropolitan*, I (1853), 477; *F J*, September 14, 1853.

27. The Parish Register lists lay teachers in parish school begun in 1855. For McLaughlin, cf. press, April 3, 1887; *B D E*, June 24, 1888.

28. *F J*, November 4, 1854; *Star*, October 24, 1854; *Metropolitan*, II (1854), 704; *Catholic American*, August 6, 1887.

29. *F J*, March 12, 1842.

30. *F J*, July 16, 23, 1842. Different purchase prices and dates in: Prime, p. 396; Vallette in *U S C H Mag*, III, 295; *C N*, January 14, 1905; *Cath Exam*, April 24, 1886; *C R*, July 28, 1886. William Rodrigue[z], brother-in-law of Bishop Hughes, was architect. Later, he aided James Renwick in designing St. Patrick's Cathedral (John M. Farley, *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral* [New York, 1908], p. 115). He died before its completion and Renwick's name alone has been associated with it (Francis W. Kervick, *Patrick Charles Keely* [South Bend, 1953], p. 11). They were living in Brooklyn in 1838 (*F J*, August 6, 1842; *A C H S Records*, XIII, 462). *McCaddin Memorial*, p. 72. The church was razed in 1909 for the Manhattan Bridge approach.

31. J. S. M. Lynch, *A Page in Church History in New York, St. John's, Utica* (Utica, 1892), pp. 17, 64; Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 81; *U S C Mag*, III (1844), 295; *Cath Exam*, April 24, 1886; Corrigan, II, 229; Richard H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops . . .* (New York, 1888), III, 141. Bacon lived at 107 Nassau Street, then at 82 York Street (*B D*, 1842-1847).

32. *F J*, August 12, 1843; January 27, April 20, 1844; July 31, August 7, 1853; *B D E*, January 2, 1844; *Bk Cit*, January 23, 1887.

33. *B D E*, June 14, 1848.

34. They were Fathers Patrick McKenna and Hugh Maguire, 1845; P. J. Vieirz[y], 1850-1854; and William Keegan, future vicar general.

35. *F J*, May 31, July 15, 1854; March 31, May 14, 24, June 2, 1855; *B D E*, April 30, 1855.

36. James H. O'Donnell, *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States* (Boston, 1899), I, 500; Henry De Courcy and John Gilmory Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1879 ed.), p. 500; *B T*, February 20, 1909.

37. *C D*, 1843-1850. Flatbush was consolidated with Brooklyn in 1894.

38. Stiles, *History of the County of Kings*, I, 248; *Souvenir of Holy Cross*

Parish (Brooklyn, 1894), p. x. The oldest baptismal records for the "Church in Flatbush" are by Father Bohan and begin November 7, 1852. The following curates attending the mission recorded baptisms at St. James': John Quinn, October, 1848-August, 1852; E. S. Briody, October, 1849-January, 1851; Francis Gillespie, July, 1850-July, 1851; Eugene Cassidy, September, 1851-December, 1856.

39. Recorded, Liber 217, p. 451, May 17, 1850; Stephen B. Brophy to James R. Bayley, September 14, 1850 (A A N Y, A-15).

40. Meehan, III, 556. *C D*, 1852, locates Michael [Bernard] McGinn at Flatbush.

41. *Bk Cit*, February 23, 1887; *St. Patrick's Centennial* (Brooklyn, 1943); *Cath Exam*, May 1, 1886; Meehan, III, 581. In 1842 there were 72 Catholic families (Stiles, II, 241). For Maguire, cf. Corrigan, II, 263; Walter T. Leahy, *The Catholic Church of the Diocese of Trenton* (Princeton, 1906), p. 44; Joseph M. Flynn, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey* (Morristown, 1904), p. 96.

42. Mitchell, p. xxx, and *B T*, March 6, 1909, say Hughes dedicated it December 15, 1843. *B D*, 1849-1850, calls it St. Marys, thereafter St. Patrick. Prime, p. 396, and *C D*, 1847-1848, say "not dedicated"; *C D*, 1849, calls it St. Patrick.

43. Recorded, Liber 130, p. 143, April 18, 1845; Liber 213, p. 9, March 13, 1850. Maguire lived at Ryerson Street and Myrtle Avenue (*C D*, 1854).

44. *B D E*, November 3, 6, 1854; *Star*, November 6, 1854; August 18, 1856; *F J*, November 11, 1854; May 19, 1855; August 23, 1856; *Metropolitan*, II (1854), 704; IV (1856), 520; Shea, in Stiles, III, 729, *Cath Exam*, May 1, 1886.

45. Vallette in *USCH Mag*, III, p. 297; Meehan, III, 582.

46. Recorded, Liber 181, p. 339, July 10, 1848. *F J*, September 2, 1854.

47. *C D*, 1849-1852; Corrigan, IV, 131; *B D*, 1851-1854. He offered Mass in Patrick O'Donnell's stable, 18th Street near Ninth Avenue (*F J*, December 7, 1853).

48. *Star*, September 25, 1851; *F J*, October 25, 1851.

49. *F J*, May 7, 1852; September 2, 1854; April 28, 1855; press, April 24, 1887; Corrigan, IV, 112; Vallette in Ross, I, 808.

50. The parish records give three locations and two dates—1846, 1849—for the first Mass. The parish is first noted in *C D*, 1850. Father Farnan collected from the laborers working on the Fort (Boyle to L I C H Society, May 14, 1894 [A D B]).

51. *C D*, 1850. Briody was ordained October 3, 1849 (Bayley [1870], p. 233). His baptisms were entered at St. James', October 16, 1849, to January, 1851.

52. Recorded, Liber 220, p. 81, June 17, 1850.

53. *B D E*, December 10, 1852; *F J*, December 11, 18, 1852; *Metropolitan*, I (1853), 42; Laurence Kehoe, *Complete Works of Reverend John Hughes* (New York, 1866), II, 179.

54. *Star*, November 28, 1849.

55. *B D E*, December 31, 1849; January 2, 1856; *Star*, January 2, 8, 1856.

56. *Star*, May 24, 1854; Sag Harbor *Corrector*, December 12, 1846; October 12, 1861. Ives taught at Fordham and founded the New York Protectory. McLeod labored in Cincinnati and wrote *History of the Devotions to*

the *B. V. M. in N. A.* (New York, 1866). Cf. Smith, I, 190, 253; Stiles, II, 285; III, 668, 729; Vallette in Ross, I, 807; Meehan, III, 549; *Jubilee, St. Charles Borromeo Church* (Brooklyn, 1920); *B D E*, June 24, 1888; February 7, 1897.

57. November 1 (Ryan, pp. 190 ff); Pise to McCloskey, November 14, 1849 (*A A N Y*, A-35); *A G U*, 143.4.

58. Meehan, "The Centenary of American Catholic Fiction," *America*, XL (April 6, 1929), p. 629. Father Pivet assisted (*B D*, 1854-1855). Father Joseph Fransioli came in 1856.

59. *F J*, July 3, August 29, December 11, 1852; May 7, 1853; *Star*, August 27, 1850; *B C K C R*, p. 103; *C D*, 1850-1857; *B D*, 1850-1855; *B T*, January 20, 1917; *Bk Cit*, May 8, 1887; *Metropolitan*, I (1853), 42; *Cath Exam*, May 22, 1886.

60. March 19, 1850, to Bishop Purcell (*A U N D*). The misunderstanding is told in Ryan, pp. 191 ff. Cf. *A G U*, 143.4; Pise to Purcell, October 10, 1849 (*A U N D*); Pise to McCloskey, November 14, 1849 (*A A N Y*, A-35). C. G. Herbermann, "Rt. Rev. John Dubois . . .," *H R S*, I (1900), 357; T. J. Reardon, "St. Peter's Sesquicentennial Celebration," *H R S*, XXVI (1936), 33. He dined with Hughes and the "Old Guard" January 26, 1859 (Pise to Hughes, January 20, 1859 [*A A N Y*, A-14]).

61. MS. of McCloskey's panegyric (*A A N Y*, A-38); Bishop Bayley's Register and Diary, Diocese of Newark, May 29, 1866; Hughes to Purcell, March 18, 1838 (*A U N D*); Dubois to Purcell, July 2, September 29, 1835 (*A U N D*). *F J*, August 29, 1840; Sister M. Eulalia Moffatt, "Charles Constantine Pise," *H R S*, XX (1931), 94; *Memorial, Golden Jubilee, Rev. Sylvester Malone* (Brooklyn, 1895), p. 66; Stiles, II, 285; Shea, in Stiles, III, 730.

62. *F J*, September 11, 1853; *C D*, 1852-1858; *B D*, 1850-1858. He came from Schenectady; left Brooklyn, 1857, for Syracuse, where he died, 1881.

63. Recorded, Liber 250, pp. 88, 91, June 20, 1851. The dates 1850 (*Souvenir Journal, St. Joseph's Church*, Brooklyn, 1938), 1852 (*C R*, April 29, 1893), and 1853 (*C R*, June 12, 1886; press, March 20, 1887; Meehan, III, 565; Vallette in Ross, I, 811; *Diamond Jubilee, St. Joseph's Church*, Brooklyn, 1928) are incorrect.

64. *F J*, April 16, 1853, and *B D E*, April 16, 1853, say the building was first planned for a school.

65. Ordained, Maynooth, 1852; assisted Nativity, New York City, and St. Patrick's, Kent Avenue.

66. Loughlin dedicated the church January 21, 1855 (*Star*, January 15, 1855; *F J*, January 27, 1855). It was enlarged March 17, 1861 (*N Y T*, March 16, 1861; *C R*, April 29, 1893). Cf. *F J*, November 7, 1857; *C D*, 1855-1859; *B C K C R*, p. 121; press, June 2, 1886; *F J*, September 28, 1867; *B T*, February 12, 1909; *Souvenir, Dedication of St. Joseph's Church* (Brooklyn, 1914).

67. Recorded, Liber 273, p. 3, April 1, 1852.

68. *B D E*, December 15, 1851; May 31, 1852. Bacon to Joseph P. Dubreul, S.S., Baltimore, June 10, 1852 (St. Mary's Seminary Archives); Mulrenan, p. 25; press, February 13, 1887; *Diamond Jubilee, St. Mary Star of the Sea Church* (Brooklyn, 1930).

69. Recorded, Liber 313, p. 515, March 7, 1853. *F J*, July 10, 1853. In choosing this second site the archbishop planned to erect the Visitation Church a half mile west of the new location. He bought the Visitation prop-

erty, April 18, 1853 (recorded, Liber 322, p. 91, May 6, 1853). First Mass was said there June, 1854. Dedicated August 8, 1855, it was finished years later (*B D E*, March 25, 1871).

70. *F J*, July 10, 17, 20, 1853; *Metropolitan*, I (1853), 417; Kehoe, *op.cit.*, II, 207, 247; *F J*, April 28, May 4, 5, 1855; *Star*, April 9, 18, 1855; *B D E*, April 30, 1855.

71. Maginnis, cf. *C D*, 1852, p. 215.

72. They met at Briggs' house, Ralph Avenue near Marion Street (George E. O'Hara, MS. in A D B; *Bk Cit*, May 22, 1887; *B D E*, April 13, 1890; press, September 21, 1891; Meehan, III, 543; Vallette in Ross, I, 810.

73. October 27, 1852 (recorded, Liber 330, p. 541, July 28, 1853). Shea, in Stiles, III, 731, locates it on Flushing Avenue, following error in *C D*, 1855-1857.

74. *F J*, September 11, 1853; *Metropolitan*, I (1853), 477; *Memorial, Golden Jubilee, Rev. Sylvester Malone* (Brooklyn, 1895), p. 27.

75. *C D*, 1853-1860; Parish Register. The next year a rectory was rented.

76. Ross, I, 513. In 1852 New Lots became a township independent of Flatbush. In 1886 it became part of Brooklyn City.

77. *History of St. Michael's Parish, East New York* (Brooklyn), p. 20.

78. Recorded, New Lots, Liber 358, p. 224, April 8, 1854.

79. *Star*, April 10, 1854; *F J*, April 5, 12, 1854; Shea, in Stiles, III, 732; Meehan, III, 567.

80. Press, May 1, 1887; Vallette in Ross, I, 814; Meehan, III, 546; *Golden Jubilee, St. Boniface Church* (Brooklyn, 1904). Rose Parmentier taught 50 children in the church basement school (*B T*, May 15, 1909).

81. *F J*, November 23, 1853.

82. *F J*, January 29, February 1, 8, 12, 1854; *Star*, January 30, 1854; *B D E*, January 30, 1854.

83. *B D*, 1854-1860; *C D*, 1855-1860; Parish Register. The present church was dedicated in 1872 (*C R*, August 24, November 9, 1872; *B D E*, May 16, 1870).

84. In 1898 the three western townships of old Queens County—Newtown, Flushing, and Jamaica—were formed into the new County and Borough of Queens. The new borough was consolidated with the boroughs of Brooklyn, Manhattan, Bronx, and Richmond to form the Greater City of New York (*New York City Guide* [Federal Writers Project, New York, 1939], p. 560; *New York Panorama* [Federal Writers Project, New York, 1938], p. 69). The eastern townships of old Queens—Hempstead, North Hempstead, and Oyster Bay—then became the new Nassau County. Text references to Queens mean present Queens.

85. Comparative figures for respective areas are as follows:

Year	Present Queens	Present Nassau	Actual Total Old Queens	Suffolk
1830	9,049	13,227	22,276	26,780
1840	14,480	15,844	30,324	32,469
1850	18,593	18,240	36,833	36,922

(15th Census of Population of the U. S., Washington, 1931, I). *Star*, December 15, 1830; Ross, I, 869, 916.

86. *T T*, September 2, 1837; *F J*, October 14, 1843; September 2, 1849; H. F. Walling's Map of Kings and Queens, 1859 (Queensboro Public Library, Collections, VII, 39).

87. W. W. Munsell, *History of Queens County* (New York, 1882), p. 117; Henry D. Waller, *History of the Town of Flushing* (New York, 1899), p. 179; G. H. Mandeville, *Flushing Past and Present* (Flushing, 1860), p. 169; *St. Michael's Centennial* (Brooklyn, 1938); Prime, p. 299.

88. *C D*, 1833-1838. The Flushing population was 2,820 in 1835 (*Star*, December 3, 15, 17, 1835). Michael Boylan of Flushing was correspondent for the *NY W R C D* in November, 1834.

89. Born, Ireland; ordained, 1826; labored in Harrisburg, then New York; at Long Island City from 1843 to death, 1856 (*C D*, 1835-1856; Curran to Butler, Mount St. Mary's, March 9, 1836 and 1837 [*A M S M C*]; George O'Donnell, *St. Charles Borromeo Seminary, Overbrook* [Philadelphia, 1943], p. 193; Corrigan, II, 71; VII, 202).

90. Recorded, Liber 58, p. 1, August 12, 1842, Jamaica.

91. *F J*, July 9, 16, 23, 1842.

92. For Larkin, cf. *B C H S Records*, p. 33; Corrigan, III, 311; *C D*, 1849, p. 285.

93. Wheeler ordained, 1847; died, Dubuque, March 11, 1861.

94. Recorded, Liber 79, p. 110, May 4, 1849, Jamaica.

95. At St. Patrick's, New York, 1850; at Flushing, April, 1851, to September, 1853; Hastings and Yonkers, 1856?, then left for Ireland (*F J*, December 7, 1853; Corrigan, IV, 130). He reviewed his Flushing residence in a bitter letter to Archbishop Hughes, April 8, 1856 (*A A N Y*, A-16-L; A-14).

96. *F J*, February 14, 19, August 17, 21, 1853.

97. *F J*, August 17, 20, September 21, 1853; May 10, July 8, 1854.

98. *F J*, July 8, 1854.

99. Archives, Mount St. Alphonsus, Esopus, N. Y., kindness of J. F. Byrne, C.S.S.R., December 9, 1938. Cf. *F J*, September 21, 1853; July 8, 1854. The first English-speaking mission in this country opened at St. Joseph's Church, New York, in 1851 (Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., *Father Hecker and His Friends* [St. Louis, 1952], p. 15).

100. Vallette in Ross, I, 857; Meehan, III, 596; W. H. Bennett, *Handbook to Catholic Historical New York* (New York, 1927), p. 113; press, December 28, 1891; *B T*, July 22, 1911.

101. Recorded, Liber 83, p. 117, Queens.

102. Statement of Curran in Baptism Register, I, 1851-1856.

103. *Ibid.*; *B T*, July 22, 1911; W. S. McLoughlin, *Historical Collections* (Chancery Office, Archdiocese of New York).

104. May 1, 1849 (Liber 82, p. 420), August 21, 1850 (Liber 87, p. 15), October 20, 1852 (Liber 101, p. 113), Register's Office, Queens. Most of this land forms the now closed cemetery. Photostat of its ground plan in Queensboro Public Library reveals 86 headstones, recording about 200 names and death dates, from 1844 to 1926. Cf. *Atlas*, 1891, Queensboro Public Library. Map of Newtown by J. Riker, 1852, locates but does not name the church. Cf. church notices in *Astoria Gazette* and *Newtown Sentinel*, May 5, September 23, 1852; June 16, 1853.

105. *F J*, July 31, August 2, 7, December 11, 1841.

106. "One of the oldest priests in the missions" (*Boston Pilot*, December

6, 1856). Cf. *American Celt*, December 6, 1856; J. G. Shea, *Catholic Churches of New York City* (New York, 1878), p. 565.

107. Vallette in Ross, I, 855; H. I. Hazelton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens* . . . (Chicago, 1925), II, 975; Meehan, III, 594; Flynn, *History of St. Monica's Parish* (Jamaica, 1906); *B D E*, March 9, 1901; *B T*, June 18, 1910; July 22, 1911.

108. *St. Monica's Centennial* (Jamaica, 1938). McLaughlin's smithy appears at 151 Beaver Street (now Twombly Place, continuation of Parsons Boulevard), 550 feet northwest of the present church (M. G. Johnson's Map of Jamaica Village, 1842; *Atlas*, 1944).

109. Bought, December 16, 1839 (recorded, December 26, 1839, Liber ZZ, p. 308).

110. Recorded, December 27, 1839, Liber 52, p. 41.

111. *N. Y. Catholic Register*, February 27, April 30, 1840.

112. W. Callahan was agent for the *N. Y. Catholic Register*. Irish repeal was supported (*F J*, September 4, 1841) and the parish contributed to Fordham seminary (*F J*, August 23, December 7, 1844).

113. Edward [James, John] Maginnis [McGuinness, McGinnis], born Ireland; ordained from Mount St. Mary's, October 1, 1837; labored in New York (Shea, III, 535); baptized at St. James', January through May, 1847. In 1854 Father John McCarthy began to share the Long Island missions with him (*C D*, 1848-1855).

114. *Long Island Democrat* quoted in *Star*, May 26, 1854.

115. Recorded, December 27, 1839, Liber 52, p. 41. More adjacent property was acquired for the new church (recorded, December 28, 1855, Liber 138, p. 95 f); Johnson's Map, 1842; *Atlas*, 1891; *Star*, August 21, 1857. For Farley, in whose time the parish records begin, cf. *NYT*, August 22, 29, 1857; *F J*, August 16, 1856; August 22, 1857; *Metropolitan*, IV, October, 1857; Corrigan, III, 293; Farley to Hughes, from Williamsburg, November 15, 1854, and from Jamaica, February 27, 1855 (A A N Y, 27-E-H); press, July 22, 1889. For cornerstone laying and dedication, cf. *F J*, August 16, 1856; *Metropolitan*, IV, October, 1857; *NYT*, August 22, 29, 1857; *Star*, August 21, 1857.

116. *F J*, August 14, 1852.

117. *F J*, July 28, 1849; J. R. Bayley to M. R. Frenaye, Rockaway, L. I., July 1, 1854, *A C H S Researches*, XIII (1922), 484.

118. Alfred H. Bellot, *History of the Rockaways* (Far Rockaway, 1917), p. 51—a likelier date than 1848 (Vallette in Ross, I, 866). Cf. *B T*, September 17, 1910; Meehan, III, 592. Rockaway Catholics supported Irish Repeal (*F J*, September 4, 1841).

119. *F J*, August 14, 1852.

120. *F J*, August 14, 21, 1852.

121. Mulrenan, p. 45.

122. *Sag Harbor Express*, May 14, 1868; *B C*, May 8, 1869. Born, Holland, 1822; ordained, Italy, 1845. Labored in Europe and Ohio. First resident pastor, B. V. M., Help of Christians, Winfield, in 1854. Pastor, 1857, of St. Boniface's; at Sag Harbor, 1859 to 1868. Died in Far Rockaway, September 15, 1874. Assigned \$10,000 life insurance to Bishop Loughlin, requesting insertion of death notice in Cincinnati *Telegraph* for possible creditors (Loughlin to Purcell, February 2, 1875 [A U N D]).

123. Munsell, *op.cit.*, p. 426, adds it was near the insane asylum. Others ("Story of Michael Fox, Orchard Street, South Uniondale," February 11, 1897 [MS. 402, A D B]; *B D E*, October 13, 1895; Vallette in Ross, I, 859; Meehan, III, 610, 618) give the same location, but date the Mass, 1849, and declare Maginnis the celebrant.

124. Recorded, Liber 87, p. 84, February 20, 1851.

125. *F J*, March 4, 8, 1851; Roslyn *Plain Dealer*, February 21, 1851; *B D E*, October 13, 1895. Leahey, never a priest, was sentenced for murder in Wisconsin in 1852 (F. E. Tourscher, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence* [Lancaster, 1920], p. 251).

126. *F J*, March 8, 1851.

127. Mulrenan, p. 28; Meehan, III, 618, Vallette in Ross, I, 857.

128. Nearly half the baptismal entries of St. Patrick's, Glen Cove, were residents of Westbury, half of Glen Cove, and the rest of Oyster Bay, Roslyn, and the County Poor Farm (Records, St. Patrick's, Glen Cove).

129. *T T*, July 25, September 5, 1835; *B T*, June 26, 1909; July 22, 1911; Ross, III, 258.

130. *N Y T*, February 4, 1871.

131. Ross, III, 258; Vallette in Ross, I, 935; *C N*, October 6, 1900; *St. Patrick's Monthly*, Glen Cove, August, 1918; *C R*, May 29, 1886.

132. *C D*, 1855-1858. McCarthy left Greenport in 1857 to establish Our Lady of Mercy parish, Brooklyn, but soon left the diocese.

133. He was at Assumption since 1853. He died 1858 (*B D*, 1853-1857; *Bk Cit*, January 23, 1887; Vallette in Ross, I, 859; Meehan, III, 609; *B T*, June 26, 1909; July 6, 1910; July 22, 1911).

134. From Parre Avenue to Coles Street (recorded, Liber 135, p. 22, September 6, 1855).

135. Southeast corner Pearsall Road and Glen Street, June 2, 1856 (recorded, June 17, 1856).

136. *B T*, June 26, 1909; *F J*, August 22, 29, 1857; *N Y T*, August 29, 1857; February 4, 1871; *Star*, September 17, 1857; *Metropolitan*, IV (October, 1857).

137. At Holy Trinity, 1853-1856; pastor of St. Fidelis', College Point, 1856-1889.

138. Parish records.

139. Parish records; abstract in A D B.

140. Fifty-three were buried there from 1860 to 1910 (Parish Register).

141. Meehan, III, 607; Mulrenan, p. 28; *Souvenir*, 28th Annual Convention *N. Y. Catholic State League* (Brooklyn, 1925), p. 43; *B T*, August 27, 1910; July 22, 1911; Ross, III, 275.

142. Fathers Keller, O.S.F., Hartlaub, and Oberschneider (*C D*, 1856-1870). Hauber built the next church, east side of Elmont Road, a quarter mile north of the first.

143. Cf. Prime, passim; Ross, I, 880, 903, 915.

144. Typescripts by Josephine C. Frost: "Cemetery Inscriptions . . . Manhasset, L. I."; "Long Island Cemetery Inscriptions," Queensboro Public Library; "Long Island Cemeteries," 7 vols, L. I. H. S. Cf. John K. Sharp, *St. Mary's, Manhasset, and Its Former Pastors, 1853-1943*, pamphlet (Manhasset, 1943).

145. To Hughes, July 29, 1853 (A A N Y, A-14).

146. Recorded, Liber 154, p. 166, August 1, 1857.
147. Mulrenan, p. 28. It is said that the old Flushing church was moved to Manhasset (*B T*, October 27, 1917). It does not seem likely.
148. There were two resident pastors: James A. Strain, 1863-1864, from Boston, who died at Holy Cross, 1867 (cf. Index in Lord), and Francis B. Cannon, O.S.B., 1868-1871 (letters from both in *A D B*). The present church, 1500 feet south of the old site, was dedicated on October 17, 1917.
149. *C D*, 1850-1853.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 277.
151. *C D*, 1855.
152. *Diamond Jubilee of St. Ignatius Church* (Hicksville, 1934); *Portrait and Biographical Record of Queens County* (New York, 1896), p. 1029; Vallette in Ross, I, 861; Meehan, III, 610; *Souvenir, 28th Annual Convention, N. Y. Catholic State League* (Brooklyn, 1925), p. 57; *C R*, December 26, 1891; *B T*, July 24, 1909; August 6, 1910; July 22, 1911.
153. Before 1776 its port ranked next after New York. In 1834 four Sag Harbor whalers were at Oahu (*Star*, September 14, 1835). In 1844 Sag Harbor, Cold Spring, Greenport, Jamesport, and New Suffolk furnished one-seventh of American whalers (Ross, I, 873 ff; 955 ff; 1043 ff). Stage coach trips through Long Island were described in *Star*, November 19, 23, 1835, and *U S C Mag*, IV (1845), 236.
154. Born, London, 1792, came to Sag Harbor, 1820; became a cooper; married Elizabeth Parker (Records, 1824, Presbyterian Church, Sag Harbor), lived in Buenos Aires, 1824-1829, where his wife became a Catholic. A son, Michael, became a Redemptorist (*B C*, July 17, 1869. Similar account in *Sag Harbor Express*, January 12, 1860, *Sag Harbor Corrector*, January 20, 1877).
155. *C D*, 1833-1861; *Sag Harbor Express*, January 12, 1860; *B C*, July 17, 1869. Carraher was in New York until 1843, when he went to Maine.
156. Account Book and Journal of Thomas Ripley, Sag Harbor. Accounts in *B T*, May 5, 1923, and in *Sag Harbor Express* are incorrect. Its transfer, Hughes to Loughlin, recorded, March 14, 1854, Liber 75, p. 105.
157. *C D*, 1849, so refers to it for first time.
158. *Sag Harbor Corrector*, December 27, 1834; June 24, 1835; November 13, 1841; *NY W R C D*, November 16, 1833; *F J*, April 6, 1844. Cumiskey died 1850 (Bayley, 1870 ed., p. 241).
159. *Sag Harbor Express*, January 12, 1860; *Sag Harbor Corrector*, February 1, 1862.
160. Joyce labored in New York and died 1890 (Corrigan, V, 166). McCarthy served Sag Harbor, 1853 to 1857, founded Our Lady of Mercy parish and transferred to Boston (*B C*, July 31, 1869; *Sag Harbor Express*, January 12, 1860; Lord, II, 516; III, 275). Brunemann baptized from May 29, 1859, to April 26, 1868 (parish records, Southold). He then went to Far Rockaway (*Sag Harbor Corrector*, January 28, 1860; February 29, 1868; *Sag Harbor Express*, May 14, 1868). The present Sag Harbor church was dedicated 1872 (*Sag Harbor Corrector*, June 29, December 21, 1872).
161. R. M. Bayles, *History, Town of Riverhead* (Riverhead, 1882), p. 17; *B T*, October 8, 1910; July 12, 1911.
162. Bayles, *op.cit.*, p. 6. Miller and Griffing, *History of the Town of Riverhead* (Riverhead, 1892), p. 6; O. B. Ackerly, *Celebration 100th Anniversary Town of Riverhead* (Riverhead, 1892), p. 29.

163. Bayles, *op.cit.*; *B D E*, February 1, 1870; *B T*, October 8, 1910; *A D B*.

164. *C R*, May 20, 1876; *C N*, March 30, 1901; *B T*, April 21, 1917; Archives and Account Book of Father J. MacKenna, pastor of Southold and Greenport, 1869-1875.

165. The Salmon Records, 1696-1878, and Southold Town Census of 1850 have a few names. Natal places were: 59, Ireland; 48, New York; 20, Germany; 2, France.

166. It was near the northeast corner of Main Street and Horton's Lane (MacKenna, *op.cit.*); abstract of deed, May 7, 1863 (*A D B*); W. W. Munsell, *History of Queens County* (New York, 1882), p. 25; W. S. Pelletreau, *Southold* (1882), p. 25. *C R*, May 20, 1876.

167. Sag Harbor *Corrector*, February 29, September 26, 1868; *A Q*; Sag Harbor *Express*, May 14, 1868; *B C*, May 8, 1869.

168. MacKenna, *op.cit.*

169. *C D*, 1851-1858. He cared for Babylon, Cold Spring, Islip, Jamesport, Patchogue, Riverhead, Cutchogue, Smithtown, Sayville, and Sag Harbor.

170. Marriages and baptisms by McCarthy, December 18, 1853, to January 17, 1858, and by O'Neil, January 24, 1858, to May 5, 1860; originals in St. Patrick's, Huntington, are copied into the Southold parish records.

171. March 21, 1855 (recorded, March 23, 1855, Liber 82, p. 408).

172. MacKenna, *op.cit.*; *Republican Watchman*, January 8, 1870. Greenport Catholics were buried in Sag Harbor (*Sag Harbor Corrector*, February 1, 1868).

173. Meehan, III, 616, says the second church [built 1876, destroyed by fire 1927] was "the third built since 1835." Contemporary accounts indicate the 1841 church was the first (Prime, p. 245, and especially *F J*, April 27, 1850; Munsell, *op.cit.*, p. 19; Mitchell, p. xxix, dates it 1841 but incorrectly attributes it to Maginnis).

174. *F J*, April 27, 1850.

175. William F. Clark, S.J., 1856-1947, born near Smithtown, in "centenary" sermon in *B T*, August 31, 1935, and in letter to author, October 21, 1938. W. S. Pelletreau, ed., *Records, Town of Smithtown* (1898), pp. 210, 222, 244; Ross, I, 984.

176. Meehan, III, 616.

177. Prime, p. 245.

178. *F J*, April 27, 1850.

179. First time in *C D*, 1849.

180. Recorded, Liber 60, p. 127, July 15, 1851. Cf. Hughes deed to Loughlin, November 16, 1853.

181. *B C*, December 11, 1869. The Fishers sold land to Bishop Loughlin in 1874 (recorded, February 23, 1875, Liber 214, p. 416). *C R*, June 13, 1874; October 14, 1876. Kearney built a second church south of the first. It became a mission, 1893.

182. *A Q*; Meehan, III, 611; Vallette in Ross, I, 865; Romanah Sammis, *Huntington-Babylon Town History* (Huntington, 1937), pp. 55, 143; *B T*, July 17, August 14, 1909; *Silver Jubilee of Father John York* (Huntington, 1912).

183. *Historic Huntington, 1653-1903*; Ross, I, 873.

184. Vallette in Ross, I, 865.

185. W. F. Clark, S.J., to author, October 21, 1938.
186. *B C*, July 3, 1869; *C N*, August 5, 1899; *B T*, July 17, 1909; September 10, 1910. *C D*, 1850, first notices this church in Cold Spring. *C D*, 1856, calls it St. Patrick's.
187. Early baptism and marriage records for Suffolk are in the rectory. Greenport, Hicksville, Cold Spring, Islip, Babylon, Patchogue, Smithtown, and Riverhead are the addresses noted, the majority from the last two places.
188. Unsigned MS. written before 1895 in parish archives.
189. *B C*, July 3, 1869; *C R*, August 24, 1872.
190. *C D*, 1854.

CHAPTER VIII

1. In 1841 at St. Mary's, New York City, the salary was set at \$400, then reduced to \$300 (*St. Mary's Church, N. Y. . . .*, from sermon of Hatton Walsh in 1826 [reprinted, New York, 1876], p. 21). In 1845 salaries of \$200 and \$50 were noted every three months for, respectively, Father Smith and his assistant at St. James' (Account and Sermon Book of Rev. Charles Smith, 1845-1847 [A D B]).
2. Smith, I, 173.
3. Provided for, first, in the 1842 Synod (Shea, III, 540; Smith, I, 211). It was \$25 that year in the young mission at Astoria; \$50, five years later (Records, Our Lady of Mt. Carmel Parish).
4. *F J*, July 25, 1840; *C D*, 1859; Corrigan, II, 243.
5. Summary of extant records of baptisms on Long Island, January 1, 1830, to December 31, 1853, may be found in the Appendix.
6. *F J*, March 13, 1852.
7. Father Merrick, S.J., when aged eight was confirmed in 1841 at St. Paul's. His First Holy Communion was postponed (Merrick, p. 133). The Synod of 1842 decreed that Holy Communion precede Confirmation (Shea, III, 539; Smith, I, 211).
8. *F J*, April 24, 1841.
9. *U S C Mag*, V (1846), 628; *F J*, October 10, 1846. Similar confirmations at St. Paul's: *N. Y. Catholic Register*, April 30, June 18, 1840; *N. Y. Catholic Register*, June 25, 1840, citing *Brooklyn Daily News*, June 21, 1840; *F J*, May 7, 1842; October 10, 1846; October 27, 1849; March 19, 1853; *U S C Mag*, III (1844), 540; V (1846), 628; *Metropolitan*, I (1853), 140.
10. James O'Donnell to M. A. Frenaye, September 14, 1841 (*A C H S Records*, XIV, 60; Meehan, "Andrew Parmentier, Horticulturist, and His Daughter, Madame Bayer," *H R S*, III [New York, 1903], 446).
11. *C D*, 1848, 1851. The Sodality of the Blessed Virgin was established at the Ursuline Convent, New Orleans, 1730; at Georgetown College, 1810 (T. F. Meehan and R. V. Baudier, "Correspondence," *America*, September 9, October 21, 1939).
12. Louise Callan, R.S.C.J., *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America* (New York, 1937), p. 321, who adds that they began at the convent, Mulberry and Houston Streets, 1842.
13. *Memorial, Golden Jubilee, Rev. Sylvester Malone* (Brooklyn, 1895), p. 44.

14. Records, St. Charles Borromeo Church.
15. F. P. K., informed by Johnson of Brooklyn, to P. R., August 2, 1843 (F. E. Tourscher, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence* [Lancaster, 1920], p. 170). Nicholas O'Donnell to Brownson, July 3, 1845 (A U N D). James Walsh to Brownson, March 2, 18, 1846 (A U N D). Commodore Charles Boardman, in charge of the Navy Yard 1851-1853, with his convert wife worshipped at St. James' (John Furey, "Some Catholic Names in the U. S. Navy List," *H R S*, VI (1911), part I, 181; *F J*, June 4, 1853).
16. *C D*, 1844, p. 130. Sunday school started at St. James', August 2, 1824 (cf. Statistics); at St. Mary's, 1840 (*F J*, July 25, 1840).
17. St. Paul's, "well disciplined," had 400 in 1852 (*C D*, 1853; *F J*, April 29, May 7, 1853).
18. *F J*, July 3, August 29, 1852; July 23, October 5, 1853; March 15, September 30, 1854.
19. *F J*, October 23, 1854; September 8, 22, 1855; February 2, 1856.
20. *C D*, 1852, p. 215.
21. *F J*, July 23, 1853; cf. March 5, 1853; July 22, 29, 1854; *St. Mary's Guild Confraternity of the Holy Cross, Constitution and By-Laws, Instituted at Brooklyn, May 31, 1853* (Brooklyn, 1858) (A D B).
22. *B C K C R* (1855), p. 133.
23. Bishop Carroll thought some kind of liquor control imperative (*A C H S Records* [1903], p. 33). The Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore, 1843, urged temperance for all, abstinence for some.
24. Patrick Rogers, *Father Theobald Mathew* (New York, 1945), p. 40.
25. *N. Y. Catholic Register*, February 13, March 19, 1840. They met, same place a year later (*F J*, January 30, 1841).
26. *N. Y. Catholic Register*, July 2, 1840.
27. In author's possession. Cf. F. E. Tourscher, O.S.A. *Old St. Augustine's* (Philadelphia, 1937), p. 69.
28. *F J*, February 20, March 20, 1841. Cf. March 19, October 3, 31, 1840; January 19, 1841.
29. *F J*, March 5, 1842.
30. *B D E*, March 17, 1842.
31. *B D E*, June 21, 1842.
32. *F J*, March 20, 27, July 3, 1841; July 2, 1842.
33. *F J*, March 5, 12, 26, 1842; *B D E*, March 14, 1842. At the end of one such sermon Father Merrick, then aged seven, was told he was "pledged" (Merrick, p. 130).
34. *F J*, July 16, 1842; parish records, Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Astoria. For St. James Total Abstinence Society and St. James Beneficial Temperance Society, cf. *F J*, March 11, 1843, and *Star*, February 5, 1848.
35. *F J*, July 7, 1849; Hone, *The Diary of Philip Hone*, ed. Nevins (New York, 1936), p. 881; Meline-McSweeney, *Story of the Mountain* (Emmitsburg, 1911), I, 457; Hughes to Eccleston, April 18, July 22, 1849 (A A B, 25-E-15); Rogers, *op.cit.*, p. 124. He nearly came here 1843 (*B D E*, May 4, 1843). Mathew advocated total abstinence ("The Temperance Movement and Father Theobald Mathew's Visit. . .," *H R S*, VI [1911], part I, 109).
36. *F J*, July 14, 1849; *B D E*, July 12, 1849; *Star*, July 10, 11, 17, 1849; Stiles, II, 284.
37. *Star*, September 26, 1851.

38. *B D E*, December 24, 1856; Sag Harbor *Corrector*, January 10, 1857; Rogers, *op.cit.*, pp. 129, 140, 146.

39. *B D E*, August 5, 1848; Stiles, II, 293. Robert T. Shannon sold lots in the New Temperance Village, Fifth Avenue and 14th Street, Brooklyn (*Handbill*, March, 1849, L. I. H. Society). Only 500 attended the World's Temperance Convention at Metropolitan Hall, New York, 1853 (*Metropolitan*, I [1853], 483).

40. *B D E*, August 9, 1852, praised their "magnificent behaviour" on an annual boat ride to St. Ronan's Well, Flushing. Father Bacon, sailing with 3,000 to Mt. Hermon, was delighted with the manners of all and that no intoxicants were sold (*F J*, August 17, 1853). Cf. for similar trips of St. Charles Borromeo's, *Star*, August 27, 1850; St. Michael's, *F J*, July 8, 1854; SS. Peter and Paul's, *F J*, May, 1854.

41. John D. Morris, sexton of St. Paul's, William E. Fitzgibbon of 103 Gold Street, and P. Reilly of Williamsburg were agents for the *Catholic Register* (*N. Y. Catholic Register*, October 24, 1839; April 2, 1840). Fitzgibbon published the *Freeman's Journal* in New York and was its Brooklyn agent (*F J*, July 4, 1840) as were the sexton of St. Paul's, David O'Connor of Flushing, and Robert Walsh of Williamsburg (*F J*, August 29, 1840; May 1, 1841). Other agents were M. and J. Nevin, 176 Fulton Street, N. Bennet, 61 Atlantic Street, and Michael R. Kenny and Edward McIluff, teachers, respectively, at St. Paul's and Assumption (*F J*, July 31, August 7, 1853).

42. *F J*, July 28, 1849.

43. He sold Butler's *Lives of the Saints* at 25 cents per volume, Carew's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Challoner's *Authority of the Catholic Church*, Wiseman's devotional works, and a hundred more titles. He was agent for the *Boston Pilot*, Brownson's *Review*, and the *Baltimore Catholic Magazine* (*F J*, January 22, February 11, October 29, 1842; February 4, July 1, October 7, 1843; April 21, 1845). At 209 Grand Street, Williamsburg, Magrath and Brennan sold Catholic books (*F J*, May 11, 1850) and William Byrne had a Catholic book store (*F J*, November 15, 1851).

44. *B D E*, October 26, 1841.

45. *B D E*, March 14, 1842; *F J*, March 5, 12, 26, 1842. One concert at St. Paul's brought in \$900 (*Star*, February 12, 1850; *F J*, February 12, 1850; January 11, 1851).

46. *N. Y. Catholic Register*, February 6, March 26, April 16, 1840.

47. James Walsh to Brownson, March 2, 18, 1846 (A U N D).

48. *F J*, June, 1851. He apostatized in 1857 causing scarcely a stir, said Archbishop Hughes (A A N Y); John Cardinal Farley, *The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey* (New York, 1918), pp. 195 ff.

49. *F J*, July 14, 1853.

50. *F J*, December 26, 1840.

51. At Central Hall, South First and Fifth Streets (*F J*, December 29, 1849; January 24, December 14, 1850).

52. H. I. Hazelton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens . . .* (Chicago, 1925), III, 1692. Stiles, however, says 18,307 attended public day schools in Brooklyn, 9,372 in Williamsburg, and 702 in Bushwick (Stiles, II, 295, 402-403).

53. H. C. Syrett, *The City of Brooklyn, 1865-1898* (New York, 1944), p. 36.

54. Cf. Sharp, "The Convent of the Sacred Heart, Ravenswood, L. I., 1844-1847," *Catholic World* (March, 1947), pp. 547-550; Callan, *op.cit.*, p. 314. Madeleine Sophie Barat founded the society in France, 1800. It came to the United States in 1818.

55. *FJ*, July 31, August 2, 7, December 11, 1841.

56. *CD*, 1842.

57. Callan, *op.cit.*, p. 320. Rosine Parmentier was a pupil in New York and Long Island (*America*, XXX, 325; Meehan "Some Pioneer Catholic Laymen in New York," *HRS*, IV [1906], p. 298; Idem, "Two Pioneer Russian Missionaries," *HRS*, XIX [1929], 105).

58. Journal of the Convent of the Sacred Heart, N. Y. C., 1844-1847.

59. Mary Garvey, R.S.C.J., *Mary Aloysia Hardy, Religious of the Sacred Heart, 1809-1886* (2nd ed., New York, 1925, p. 103; 4th ed., p. 445).

60. Garvey, *op.cit.*, 2nd ed., p. 103; E. L. Ambruster, *Long Island Land Marks* (Brooklyn, 1914), I, 50. "It was occupied by the Sacred Heart Sisters but now Mr. Brooks lives there" (James Riker, Jr., *Annals of Newtown* [New York, 1852], pp. 259, 358). Shea, III, 536, and Bayley (1870), p. 136, call the site Gibb's Estate. It is marked George Brooks' house on Riker's 1852 Map of Newtown Township (Riker, *op.cit.*). Cf. also *Modern Atlas*, Queens County.

61. Ross, I, 569. The township had 3,504 people in 1835 (*Star*, November 19, 1835). Hallett's Cove north of Ravenswood had 750 in 1841 (Riker, *op.cit.*).

62. B. F. Thompson, *History of Long Island* (3rd. ed., New York, 1918), III, 361; Callan, *op.cit.*, p. 323; *CD*, 1845, 1846.

63. Journal of the Convent, of the Sacred Heart, N. Y. C., 1844-1847. Burgos, ordained 1845 at Fordham, became curate at SS. Peter and Paul's and left for Illinois c. 1850.

64. There were 16 novices, eight candidates (*CD*, 1846, 1847; *USC Mag*, V [1846], 689). Callan, *op.cit.*, p. 323; Garvey, *op.cit.*, pp. 106-109; letters from pupils, Hannah Price Collection, kindly excerpted for author, February 23, 1939, by Mother Benziger, R.S.C.J. Cf. Murray, p. 445.

65. Callan, *op.cit.*, p. 323; Garvey, *op.cit.*, pp. 112-114; Mary O'Brien, R.S.C.J., "Mother Hardy and Her Foundations to 1872," typescript master's dissertation (Washington, 1935); *America*, XXX, 325.

66. Minutes of the Local Council, October 13, November 2, 1848; Brother Basil to Father Edward Sorin, C.S.C., January 30, July 10, 1849, Brother Gatian to Father Edward Sorin, C.S.C., February 2, March 1, 1849 (Provincial Archives, Brothers of Holy Cross, Notre Dame, Ind., kindness of Brother Bonaventure Foley, C.S.C.). Strangely, no contemporary references to this incident were found in the parish records, Catholic directories, or news prints of that day.

67. March 8, 1840, Minutes, RCOA Society of Brooklyn, 1830-1843. The superiors were Sister Magdalen (*CD*, 1840-1841), Sister Apollonia McCready (Minutes, Board Directors, RCOA Society, 1837-1847), Sister Ursula Mattingly who left 1846 for Emmitsburg, and the remarkable Sister Mary Constantia Hull, who remained superior until death in 1885.

68. Minutes, RCOA Society, August 8, 1840. Orphan Margaret Doherty was bound out to Mr. Burke of Sag Harbor until she became of age (Minutes, Board Directors, RCOA Society, October 16, 1842). Thereafter, a few children were bound out until 18 years of age.

69. Minutes, Board Directors, R C O A Society, September 5, October 29, 1841.

70. *F J*, January 6, 1844, reported 30 orphans; there were 34 in 1846 (*C D*, 1847; Minutes, Board Directors, R C O A Society, May 8, 22, 1845, et seq.).

71. "Father Schneller some years ago took forty orphans and rented a house on Butler St. and cared for them" (*N Y T*, June 19, 1858).

72. *F J*, November 3, 1849.

73. *F J*, October 6, 1849; Report, R C O A Society, in *F J*, March 29, 1851; Shea, in Stiles, III, 738; *Star*, June 8, 1850. *C D*, 1853, perplexingly, refers, under St. James School, to "male orphan asylum" of 50 boys under "competent persons." The *N Y T* and *Star*, *supra*, correctly locate the male orphanage. *C D*, 1855, first locates boys on Congress Street.

74. *F J*, March 29, 1851; Joseph F. Keany, *R. C. O. A. Society of Brooklyn, 1830-1930* (Brooklyn, 1930), p. 9; Shea, in Stiles, III, 738. The girls' orphanage was variously designated: St. Paul's Orphan Asylum (*C D*, 1848); forty girl occupants noted (*C D*, 1849); St. Paul's Female Orphan Asylum (*C D*, 1850).

75. *F J*, September 30, 1854; June 2, 1855; May 31, 1856; *B C K C R* (1855).

76. Minutes, R C O A Society; Minutes, Board Directors, R C O A Society; *Star*, March 26, 1850; *B D E*, May 17, 1851.

77. Christmas Day, 1843, St. James' gave \$136, St. Paul's, \$225, and Assumption, \$71 (*F J*, January 6, 1844). For contributions 1840-1845, see *F J*, December 27, 1845.

78. June 12, 1845 (Minutes, Board Directors, R C O A Society. Cf. J. W. Carroll, "Beginning of the R. C. O. A. S.," *B C H S Records*, pp. 42-43).

79. Cf. *F J*, July 31, December 18, 1841; July 30, 1842; *B D E*, July 29, 1842; *F J*, September 9, 1843; September 19, October 9, 1852. A sermon at St. James' (*B D E*, December 3, 1848; *Star*, December 2, 1848).

80. *T T*, October 26, November 16, 1839.

81. *N. Y. Catholic Register*, June 25, 1840.

82. Concert at Brooklyn Institute (*Star*, October 9, 1849). Hudson, Irish comedian, at the Lyceum (*F J*, October 6, 1849). A "Panorama of the Holy Land" shown (*Star*, June 8, 1850).

83. At Brooklyn Institute (*Star*, December 14, 15, 1847). A week's fair at Montague Hall by ladies of several Catholic churches brought \$5,000 (*Star*, February 20, 1851; *F J*, March 1, 29, 1851). Another, same place, netted \$6,660.23 (*F J*, June 25, 1853).

84. In 1851 it gave \$484 (*F J*, March 29) and the amount annually increased. For other affairs by the association cf. *Star*, November 22, December 23, 1845; January 8, 1846; January 2, 1847; January 3, 1848; December 1, 1849; November 23, 27, 1850; *Bk Cit*, February 19, 26, March 4, 11, 18, 25, April 1, 1888; *B D E*, March 17, 1894.

85. Life trustees were the Bishop of New York and the Mayor of Brooklyn, ex-officio, Cornelius Heeney, James Friel, and W. H. Peck of Brooklyn, and John G. Gottsberger and Francis Cooper of New York. Annual trustees were Peter Turner and N. J. Becar of Brooklyn and Bartlett Smith of New York (*Charter and By-Laws of the Trustees and Associates of the Brooklyn*

Benevolent Society (Brooklyn, 1857, 1874), p. 1; Meehan, "A Self-Effaced Philanthropist" *CH R*, IV [1918], 14).

86. *F J*, March 29, 1851. The annual grant to the R C O A Society in modern times was several times that sum.

87. Shea, IV, 119.

88. Minutes, R C O A Society, May 3, 1840.

89. Minutes, R C O A Society, September 11, 1841; *Star*, January 14, 1845.

90. Brophy to Bishop Hughes, May 19, 1849 (A A N Y, A-15). Father McDonough claimed the bishop upheld the sisters.

91. *Star*, July 5, 1850; August 8, 20, 1851; *B D E*, January 15, 1852; September 3, 1853. Richard J. Gabel, *Public Funds for Church and Private Schools* (Washington, 1937), pp. 371, 558, 561. Later, public land was free leased to three Catholic and 16 Jewish and Protestant institutions ("Private Charities and Public Lands," *Catholic World* [1879], p. 138; *C N*, February 22, 1908; Gabel, *op.cit.*, p. 371).

92. *N Y C Register*, November 7, December 18, 1839; January 29, February 13, June 18, 25, 1840; *T T*, November 9, 1839.

93. *F J*, December 6, 1851; December 18, 1852. The campaign results, 1844 to 1845, were: St. James', \$994.80; St. Paul's, \$811.12; Assumption, \$844.92; St. Michael's, Flushing, \$116.25; St. Monica's, Jamaica, \$97.00; St. Mary's, Williamsburg, \$236.60; Holy Trinity, \$72.00; Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, Astoria, \$153.00 (*F J*, August 23, December 7, 1844; *Catholic Expositor and Literary Monthly Magazine* [New York], August, 1844; August, 1845). Cf. *F J*, December 18, 1852; November 16, 1853.

94. St. James' gave \$48; Assumption, \$34—over 10 per cent of the diocesan total (*F J*, March 25, 1843; *Catholic Expositor* . . . , May, 1843).

95. At St. James' (*F J*, August 26, 1843).

96. St. Paul's gave \$225.00; St. James', \$150.00; St. Mary's, \$144.20; Assumption, \$64.50 (*F J*, December 27, 1845).

97. At Assumption (*F J*, June 27, 1846).

98. St. James' gave \$153; St. Paul's, \$130; Assumption, \$102; and Astoria, \$55 (*F J*, December 22, 1849).

99. At St. James' (*B D E*, November 15, 1851).

100. Eight Brooklyn and Long Island parishes gave \$3,579.58 (*F J*, November 18, December 20, 1851; March 22, 27, April 3, May 21, 29, July 10, 21, August 21, 1852; *B D E*, March 22, 1852).

101. From the Sunday School teachers and boys at St. Charles' (*F J*, October 16, 21, 1852), aftermath of the Achille case.

102. Cemetery Records, Office, Calvary Cemetery, New York City; Michael A. Corrigan, "The Catholic Cemeteries of New York," *H R S*, I (1899), 374; J. Riker, Jr., Map of Newtown, 1852 (Riker, *op.cit.*); *Star*, August 3, 1848; *F J*, September 11, 1853. For enlargements of Calvary, cf. *F J*, September 11, 1853; Sag Harbor *Corrector*, June 15, 1878; Corrigan, I, 375. For retention as part of the archdiocese, cf. Hughes to Cardinal Franzoni, December 28, 1855 (A A N Y, A-3). Calvary charged \$40 for four graves; Greenwood, \$43 for six (N. J. Fogerty to Hughes, September 4, 30, 1858 [A A N Y, A-16]). Mortuary chapel blessed October 3, 1858 (*N Y T*, October 9, 1858; *Star*, October 4, 1858; *C N*, August 24, 1907). Interments, first 50 years, were 644,761 (Corrigan, I, 375).

103. Susannah Duffy and James McKenna (St. James' Cemetery Interments, 1823-1849; *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888; *B D E*, April 26, 1894; *C R*, December 8, 1894; *B T*, April 7, 1934; Meehan, III, 532; Idem, "Pioneer Times in Brooklyn," *H R S*, II (1901), 191; Idem, "A Village Churchyard," *H R S*, VII (1914), 184). In 1900 nearly 300 tombstones stood, besides ground slabs and wooden crosses. When the present church replaced the old one in 1903, many were removed or built over. In 1922 about 100 were still visible (*St. James' Centennial* [1922], p. 30).

104. Field Map, Plan B, 1849, Borough Hall, 10th floor. *Star*, July 30, September 21, 1835; *B D E*, January 25, 26, 29, 1844; Stiles, I, 380; II, 223; Meehan, "A Village Churchyard," *H R S*, VII (1914), 184.

105. Stiles, II, 223; III, 634. Cf. Marriott McKinney, manuscript testimony to B C H Society, April 13, 1894; *C R*, May 5, 1894; *B D E*, January 25, 26, 29, 1844. The cemetery, closed 1854, was sold 1857; the eight denominations that used it were recompensed for removing remains, tombstones, etc., Bishop Loughlin receiving \$2,628.10 (memorandum, A D B).

106. W. H. Bennett, *Handbook to Catholic Historical New York* (New York, 1927), p. 112. Cf. *F J*, February 16, 1867; *B D E*, April 20, 1871; Stiles, II, 262; III, 624; Prime, p. 368.

107. *F J*, November 3, 1849.

108. Cf. correspondence between Stephen B. Brophy, attorney, 59 Wall Street, and Directors, R C O A Society, in *F J*, November 3, 1849.

109. Now, the people would decide at the November election the fate of John A. Lott who had been supported in his political career by these same foreigners (Brophy cited in *F J*, November 3). The Democrats won the 1849 election but John A. Lott, elected County Judge 1838, was elected Judge of the Supreme Court of New York State, 1856 (Ross, I, 625 f). Bennett, *op.cit.*, p. 112, says other unsuccessful attempts were made to secure a Flatbush cemetery.

110. Signed and recorded, September 1, 1849, Liber 200, p. 464, Kings County. Bennett and Holy Cross Cemetery records set the date as June; the deed is undated. Duffy, coffee and spice merchant, had bought the land from John Gill (Stiles, *History of the County of Kings* [New York, 1884], I, 248; *Bk Cit*, no date; *Bk Cit*, January 22, 1888; *B D E*, July 17, 1892; *C R*, November 8, 1873); G. S. Ryerson, Map, Town of Flatbush, 1873.

111. It was of Michael Moran (Meehan, *Bk Cit*, no date; Bennett, *op.cit.*, p. 112; Holy Cross Cemetery Interments, July 13, 1849, to November 30, 1853).

112. "Rules for the Administration of the Cemetery of the Holy Cross at Flatbush, L. I., August 1849" (A A N Y, A-14). James Egan, first caretaker, was succeeded April 1, 1853, by P. H. Curran.

113. Cf. Appendix for recorded deaths, 1830-1853. Most of the burials from county institutions were "free" and the usual entries ranging from \$3.25 to \$8.00 were omitted.

114. *Star*, July 28, August 1, 1845; February 6, 1846.

115. For contemporary Brooklyn politics, cf. Stiles, II, 265, 287; *Valentine's Manual of the Common Council* (New York, 1854), pp. 446 ff; R. J. Purcell and J. F. Poole, "Political Nativism in Brooklyn," *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, XXXII (New York, 1941), 26 ff. Democratic victories were called Irish victories by Whigs and Nativists—"foreign min-

ions" "triumphing over the sons of Americans" (*B D E*, November 6, 1843; November 14, 1842).

116. *B D E*, April 3, 4, 5, 6, 1844; Stiles, II, 273, 275.

117. Merrick, p. 86, says Catholic women aided their men. Ray A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860* (New York, 1938), p. 437, says, without proof, the Irish probably gathered to defend the church and, provoked, attacked the speaker and procession. The *B D E* blamed the Whigs and Native Americans, absolved the Irish, and declared they were never aggressors in political disturbances.

118. Richard H. Clarke, *Lives of the Deceased Bishops . . .* (New York, 1888), III, 141; *C R*, November 20, 1875.

119. *B D E*, April 24, 1846.

120. The only instance discovered of preventive police action was the arrest of an abusive anti-Catholic, speaking at Hicks and Fulton Streets (*F J*, March 27, 1852).

121. *F J*, January 21, 1843.

122. *Star*, March 8, 1845.

123. *Star*, January 27, 1847.

124. In 1847, 1848 (Billington, *op.cit.*, p. 259).

125. *Star*, April 5, 1847; F. J. Zwierlein, "Know Nothingism in Rochester, New York," *H R S*, XIV (1920), 23 ff.

126. *Star*, February 3, 1848.

127. *Star*, March 1, 1848.

128. *B D E*, March 22, 27, November 13, 1852.

129. *Williamsburgh Times*, January 22, 1853.

130. Father Bacon at Brooklyn Navy Yard, (Augustus J. Thebaud, S.J., *Forty Years in the United States of America* [New York, 1904], p. 198).

131. S. N. Stillwell, Superintendent, to Briody February 27, 1850 (*A A N Y*, A-2, 3).

132. *A A N Y*, A-2, 3.

133. The question is treated in more detail by Sharp, "How Many Catholics Lived in Pre-Diocesan Brooklyn?" *H R S*, XXXVI (1947), 97 ff. The following estimates for the year 1853 adduce no documentary support: 15,000, by James H. Mitchell, p. xxxii; 20,000, by Valentine Hickey, editor of the *C R*, in its issues of February 25, March 3, 17, 1888. Cf. also, the *Irish World*, January 2, 1892, and Richard J. Purcell, "Immigration from the Canal Era to the Civil War," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1935), VII, 57, stating that in 1850 "Every third person in Kings County spoke in German dialect or with Irish accent." If one-third spoke with strange tongues in 1850, a greater proportion were Irish- and German-born in 1853 when a third of the population numbered over 60,000, for immigration was increasing. We presume many of the Germans and most of the Irish were Catholic, and many Catholics spoke neither with brogue nor gutturally.

134. Bishop Benedict J. Fenwick of Boston based the size of his flock on the number of baptisms. Cf. Lord, I, 716; II, 125, 126. C. G. Herbermann, "Rt. Rev. John Dubois . . .," *H R S*, I (1900), 350, used a similar procedure. Thus, we might presume for the period, as others have in similar instances, a conservative general birth rate of 30 per 1,000, implying that each birth and therefore each Catholic baptism, represented 33.3 Catholics. On such a basis the resultant figures would yield a Catholic population in the year 1853

5. EXTANT RECORDS OF BAPTISMS, JANUARY 1, 1830, TO DECEMBER 31, 1853

<i>Parish</i>	<i>1830</i>	<i>1832</i>	<i>1842</i>	<i>1844</i>	<i>1847</i>	<i>1849</i>	<i>1853</i>
St. James	120	186	186	230	197	385	558
St. Paul			174	276	528	675	1,174
Assumption			67	269	376	485	627
St. Patrick (Kent Ave)					53	77	231
St. John Evangelist							81 (a)
St. Charles Borromeo							222
St. Joseph							25
St. Benedict							12
Total, Old Brooklyn (b)	<u>120</u>	<u>186</u>	<u>427</u>	<u>775</u>	<u>1,154</u>	<u>1,622</u>	<u>2,930</u>
Holy Cross							<u>66</u>
Total, Flatbush							<u>66</u>
Most Holy Trinity			30	58	165	206	531
SS. Peter & Paul (St. Mary)			80	74	178	314	839
Immaculate Conception							9
Total, Williamsburg			<u>110</u>	<u>132</u>	<u>343</u>	<u>520</u>	<u>1,379</u>
Total, Kings County	<u>120</u>	<u>186</u>	<u>537</u>	<u>907</u>	<u>1,497</u>	<u>2,142</u>	<u>4,375</u>
O.L. Mt. Carmel, Astoria						61	31
St. Michael, Flushing						61	104
Total, present Queens							<u>135</u>
Elmont							<u>2</u>
Total, present Nassau							<u>2</u>
TOTAL, LONG ISLAND	<u>120</u>	<u>186</u>	<u>537</u>	<u>907</u>	<u>1,497</u>	<u>2,203</u>	<u>4,512</u>

(a) None were listed for December, 1853. There were 11 during 1850.

(b) Five wards to 1834; thereafter, nine.

of over 145,000 in a Kings County civil population of 181,000 and of 150,000 in a Long Island population of 260,000. Both figures are obviously quite excessive. A civil death rate and Catholic interment basis of computations would offer seemingly a more accurate result, although still subject to unknown factors. Thus, the "old" Brooklyn (nine wards) death rate of 26 per 1,000 in 1851 yields a Catholic population of 70,000 in Kings County and a few hundred elsewhere, and the New York City death rate of 38 per 1,000 in 1853 yields a figure of nearly 48,000 Catholics in Kings and a few hundred elsewhere. Cf. Appendix for Catholic population summary, 1830-1853. According to R. A. Sawyer, Chief of the Economics Division, New York Public Library, there are no published statistics of the birth rate in New York earlier than 1853 and the City Inspector's Report for that year states the figure is very inaccurate because of most unsatisfactory compliance with the Birth Registration Law (letter to author, November 8, 1946). The first birth rate available for Brooklyn is in 1866, also incomplete. A birth rate of 30 per thousand was estimated in the *Report of the Board of Health, City of Brooklyn, 1873-1875* (New York, 1876), pp. 11 ff.

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER VIII

5. Baptisms at the missions were probably recorded at the mother churches. The totals in the table on page 349 are incomplete. Priests were resident at Sag Harbor during 1852, at St. Francis in the Fields from 1852 on, at Astoria from 1843 on, and at Jamaica from 1848 on; yet the records of baptisms at these parishes do not begin until after 1853.

113. RECORDED DEATHS, 1830-1853

Only 24 from Brooklyn were buried in Calvary during those unrecorded six weeks of 1849. The total interments at St. James' and Holy Cross for the 46 recorded weeks of 1849 were 673. At that rate, the missing six weeks would require about 87 more interments, and probably a considerably greater number, because this was the peak of a severe cholera epidemic. Possibly they were buried in Canton Street.

The number and location of some interments for certain years of this period are of interest. The data are based on the existing cemetery records of St. Patrick's, 11th Street, New York City, Calvary, St. James', and Holy Cross, and upon the statement of Stiles, III, 634, that some 2,500 Catholics were buried in Canton Street Cemetery between 1824 and 1854—an average of about 80 per year. Burials in Greenwood and in parish cemeteries other than St. James' are not included.

1853: 1,346 in Holy Cross; 80 in Canton Street; 412 in Calvary (of whom 190 were from Brooklyn; 189, Williamsburg; 12, Long Island; 11, Greenpoint; 5, Bushwick; 3, Newtown; 1, Kings County; 1, Navy Yard)—a total of 1,838.

1849: 288 at St. James'; 385 at Holy Cross; 87 estimated minimum deaths for period of six unrecorded weeks; 80 at Canton Street; 125 at Calvary (65 from Williamsburg, 55 from Brooklyn, 5 from Long Island)—a total of 965.

1847: 455, St. James; 80, Canton Street; 38, 11th Street, New York City

134. CATHOLIC POPULATION SUMMARY

	<i>Number of Bap- tisms</i>	<i>Catholic Baptism- Civil Birth Rate Population Based on Birth Rate of 30 per 1,000</i>	<i>Civil Pop- ulation</i>	<i>Number Catholic Inter- ments</i>	<i>Catholic Bur- ial-Civil Death Rate Population Based on Cath- olic Interments and Civil Death Rate</i>
—1853—					
Old Brooklyn (first 9 wards)	2,930	97,569	138,000	1,617	{ 62,192 42,552
Flatbush	66	2,197			
Williamsburg	1,445	45,920			
Total, Kings County	4,375	145,686	180,954	1,823	{ 70,115 47,973
Outside Kings County	137	4,562			
Total, Long Island	4,512	150,248	260,000	1,838	{ 70,692 48,368
—1849—					
Old Brooklyn	1,622	54,012	{ 100,000 90,000	895	{ 29,325 18,645
Kings County	2,142	71,328	129,756	960	{ 31,455 20,000
Long Island	2,203	73,359	202,395	965	{ 31,618 20,104
—1847—					
Old Brooklyn	1,154	38,428	80,000	558	23,644
Kings County	1,497	49,849	111,502	567	24,025
Long Island	1,497	49,849	181,953	572	24,237
—1844—					
Old Brooklyn	775	25,806	63,739	388	16,440
Kings County	907	30,201	84,117	397	16,822
Long Island	907	30,201	151,290	421	17,839
—1842—					
Old Brooklyn	427	14,218	40,000	472	20,000
Kings County	537	17,881	65,867	477	20,211
Long Island	537	17,881	130,848	512	21,609
—1832—					
Old Brooklyn	186	6,193	17,088	214	7,621
Kings County	186	6,193	25,873	214	7,621
Long Island	186	6,193	77,676	215	7,678
—1830—					
Old Brooklyn (Village: Wards 1 to 5)	120	3,996	12,302	136	{ 5,762 4,857
Kings County	120	3,996	20,438	136	{ 5,762 4,857
Long Island	120	3,996	69,494	140	{ 5,932 5,000

(22, Brooklyn; 2, Kings County Alms House; 1, Kings County; 1, Naval Hospital; 1, removed from Greenwood; 6, Williamsburg; 2, Flushing; 3, Long Island)—a total of 573.

1844: 300, St. James'; 80, Canton Street; 41, 11th Street, New York City (7, Brooklyn; 1, Naval Hospital; 15, Long Island [poor?] Farms; 3, Long Island Hospital; 9, Williamsburg; 4, Long Island; 1, Flushing; 1, Astoria)—a total of 421.

1842: 376, St. James'; 80, Canton Street; 56, 11th Street, New York City (16, Brooklyn; 16, Long Island Hospital; 2, Long Island Farms; 4, Williamsburg; 1, Flatbush; 14, Long Island; 2, Flushing; 1, Newtown)—a total of 512.

1832: 172, St. James'; 40 (arbitrarily halving average), Canton Street; 3, St. Patrick's, 50th Street, New York City (1, Brooklyn; 1, Bedford; 1, Long Island)—a total of 215.

1830: 95, St. James'; 40, Canton Street; 5, St. Patrick's, New York City (1, Brooklyn; 1, Flushing; 3, Long Island)—a total of 140.

CHAPTER IX

1. Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., *An Outline History of the Church by Centuries* (St. Louis, 1943), p. 764. Cf. Carlton J. Hayes, *A Generation of Materialism, 1871-1900* (New York, 1941).

2. In the 1870's and 1880's sweat shops paid women and children four to ten cents hourly for a 90-hour work week (*C R*, August 10, 1889). Manufacturing industries in 1900 averaged a weekly wage of \$9.19 for a 55-hour work week (*New York Times*, November 26, 1946).

3. Decade Ending	Population	Immigration
1850	23,192,000	1,713,251
1870	38,558,000	2,314,824
1890	62,948,000	5,246,613

Cf. pertinent sections of *History of American Life*, ed. A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox (13 vols., New York, 1927-1948).

4. Year	Catholics	Priests	Sees
1850	1,606,000	1,800	32
1870	4,504,000	3,780	54
1890	8,909,000	9,168	79

5. The city of Brooklyn annexed the city of Williamsburg and the town of Bushwick on January 1, 1855, increasing its population to 202,000 (Stiles, II, 419). The town of New Lots was annexed in 1886; the rest of Kings County in 1894. In January, 1898, Kings County became the borough of Brooklyn of the city of New York.

Year	Brooklyn	Kings	Present Queens	Present Nassau	Suffolk	Total Four L. I. Counties
1850	c.105,000	138,882	18,593	18,240	36,922	212,637
1870	396,000	419,921	45,468	31,134	46,924	543,447
1890	806,343	838,547	87,050	40,999	62,491	1,029,087

	<i>Present Limits</i>
<i>Year</i>	<i>Boro of Manhattan</i>
1850	515,547
1870	942,292
1890	1,441,216

	<i>Present Limits</i>
	<i>Five Boros of N.Y.C.</i>
	696,115
	1,478,103
	2,507,414

6. H. C. Syrett, *The City of Brooklyn, 1865-1898* (New York, 1944), p. 236.

7. *BC*, June 19, September 30, 1869.

8. Stiles, II, 298; III, 569.

9. Syrett, *op.cit.*, pp. 145, 233.

10. *CR*, December 24, 1881; Syrett, *op.cit.*, p. 145.

11. Syrett, *op.cit.*, p. 146. Only the Hamilton Avenue ferry operated 70 years later (*New York Times*, May 20, 1938).

12. *CR*, June 2, 1883; *Sag Harbor Corrector*, May 19, 1883; Stiles, II, 285, 496; H. I. Hazelton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens . . .* (Chicago, 1925), III, 1540; Syrett, *op.cit.*, p. 147. Cf. D. B. Steinman, *The Builders of the Bridge* (New York, 1945).

13. *CR*, May 15, 1875; April 4, 1884.

14. Syrett, *op.cit.*, pp. 239, 241; Henry W. Howard, ed., *The Eagle and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1893), pp. 941 ff.

15. Irish-born James S. Stranahan designed them (*Taintor's Route and City Guide to New York* [New York, 1867]; Stiles, III, 583, 619).

16. Syrett, *op.cit.*, pp. 140, 242 f; James G. Wilson, *Memorial History of the City of New York* (New York, 1892), IV, 26; *Eagle Almanac* (Brooklyn, 1893).

17. Limerick-born John W. Ambrose built the New York "L" and developed Ambrose Channel and Brooklyn's waterfront.

18. *BDE*, July 10, 1871; Stiles, III, 584; Syrett, *op.cit.*, pp. 139, 243. A steamship line from Montauk Point to Europe was planned (*BDE*, February 13, 1871; *Sag Harbor Corrector*, December 13, 1881).

19. Syrett, *op.cit.*, pp. 82, 179. Among his lieutenants were Robert Furey, James Shevlin, John Delmar, Michael J. Coffey, John Clancy, and James McGarry. For John McKane, Irish Methodist of Bath Beach, and Patrick J. Gleeson of Long Island City, cf. Hazelton, *op.cit.*, II, 950, 1083; Ross, I, 574. The Brooklyn press divided its allegiance between the political parties. Henry McCloskey's advocacy of states' rights forced him in 1861 from the editorship of the Democratic *Eagle* (*BC*, May 8, 1869; W. H. Bennett, "Henry McCloskey and Some of His Contemporaries," *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, XXVIII [New York, 1929-1930], 119-123). Thomas Kinsella, abolitionist and former Catholic, succeeded him. He struggled unsuccessfully against McLaughlin to control the Democratic party. (Syrett, *op.cit.*, pp. 94-106. Cf. H. D. Donovan, "William C. Kinsella," *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, XXI [1922], 146-153). St. Clair McKelway became editor in 1884 (Ross, II, 28). The Democratic *Brooklyn Citizen* began in 1886. The Republican *Union*, begun in 1863, merged in 1887 with the *Standard* as the *Standard Union* (Syrett, *op.cit.*, p. 22).

20. Lain's *Brooklyn Directory* for year ending May, 1892, citing *Municipal Register*, 1891; *The Eagle and Brooklyn*, pp. 51 ff; *Eagle Almanac* (1892).

21. Cf. Stiles, II, 425; III, 571.

22. *C R*, April 27, 1872; September 19, 1874.
23. *Metropolitan*, III (1855), 392.
24. *C R*, November 7, 1874.
25. *C R*, April 23, 1881.
26. Robert H. Nicholls, "Protestant Churches and Institutions," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1937), IX, 153.
27. *C R*, April 10, 16, 23, 1881; May 12, 1883. The first Protestant Episcopal bishop was appointed for Long Island in 1869 (Ross, I, 426).
28. *C R*, January 30, 1875, citing the *Examiner and Chronicle*. Cf. March 12, 1881; August 2, 1890.
29. *The Eagle and Brooklyn*, p. 545; *Eagle Almanac* (1892). In Brooklyn, Methodist Episcopalians and Protestant Episcopalians had 45 churches each; other variants of Methodism, 20; Baptists, 38; Presbyterians, 31; Congregationalists and Lutherans, 28 each; Dutch Reformed, 19; etc. There were then nine synagogues in Brooklyn and one elsewhere in Kings (*C R*, February 17, September 22, 1877; Syrett, *op.cit.*, p. 237). New York City had 16 in 1859 (C. S. Francis, *Strangers' New Guide of New York* [New York, 1859]).
30. *C D*, 1892, p. 49; Padraic Keenan, *Brief Historical Sketch of the Parish of Clonduff* (Newry, 1941); Francis MacPolin, *Clonduff Parish, Past and Present* (Belfast, 1936). The author had considerable correspondence with MacPolin of Ballymaghery Boys' Public Elementary School, Hilltown, County Down, 1938-1939, and he secured photographs of the places referred to.
31. The bishop's father is called Stephen and John, preferably the latter by MacPolin. He is called Stephen by Regina Collins Merrick Grant, grandniece of the bishop, by Henry H. Hun, M.D., of the Albany Academy family (copies of letters: Hun to Father J. J. Dillon, St. Mary's Church, Albany, October 5, 1925; and Dillon, October 6, 1925, to Miriam Theresa Rooney, great granddaughter of William McNulty, brother of the bishop's mother) and by Miss Rooney. Joseph B. Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy* (New York, 1940), p. 202, and J. D. Hackett, *Bishops of the United States of Irish Birth or Descent* (New York, 1937), p. 67, also disagree. Mother M. Augusta, S.H.C.J., daughter of Mrs. Grant, calls him John. Perhaps Loughlin, senior, had both names. Mother Augusta, Miss Rooney, and Mrs. Grant were very helpful to the author in conversation and correspondence, 1939-1946.
32. *Catholic Universe*, March 21, 1889; *B D E*, October 12, 1890; January 2, 1892; *New York Sunday News*, July 5, 1891; press, May 7, 1889.
33. Grant.
34. Cf. *New York Herald*, October 11, 1903. *Infra*, Chap. XIV, fn. 13; McDonnell to Corrigan, September 20, 1896 (A A N Y, G-23).
35. Cf. Appendix for genealogical data.
36. A recent photo shows only a tumbled group of fieldstones.
37. Keenan, *op.cit.*, p. 23.
38. MacPolin, letter, after consulting Downshire MS.
39. It appears in a recent photo as a small barn. Roden later appointed Protestant teachers; Catholics declined to attend and it failed (MacPolin).
40. MacPolin, letter. The parish population was 7,914 in 1831; 8,687 in 1841; 2,472 in 1926 (Keenan, *op.cit.*, p. 10).
41. Keenan, *op.cit.*, p. 23. Different dates in Mitchell, p. ix; *C R*, No-

vember 1, 1890; January 9, 1892; *C Y*, October 19, 1890. Some accounts say another daughter, Mrs. Kenny of County Down, remained behind.

42. Hun, letter.

43. *Historical Sketch of St. Mary's Parish, Albany, 1797-1897* (Albany, 1897). The sites have disappeared in modern street widening. Catherine, who survived the bishop, and both parents were buried in the Old Albany cemetery, now a park (Rooney).

44. After 1837 they probably attended the new nearer Church of St. John.

45. J. S. M. Lynch, *A Page in Church History in New York, St. John's, Utica* (Utica, 1893), p. 121.

46. Hun, letter.

47. *Statutes of the Albany Academy . . .* (Albany, 1816); *Statutes . . . Revised, 1829; Statutes . . . Reprinted* (Albany, 1831); *Albany Academy: Annual Catalogue . . .* (Albany, 1863); *Historical Sketch* (Albany, 1874); [Albany Academy] *Centennial* (Albany, 1913).

48. Charles G. Deuther, Smith's grandnephew and author of the *Life and Times of Rt. Rev. John Timon* (Buffalo, 1870), in "Rev. Charles Smith," *A C H S Researches*, VI (April, 1889), pp. 89-92, attributes a most unusual pre-ordination career to Smith; other historians fail to remark it. Smith was interested in seminarians at the Mount (letter to F. Jamison, July 20, 1833 [A M S M C]).

49. John's father opposed and his mother favored his becoming a priest (Mrs. Grant).

50. There were then four Catholic colleges in the country: Georgetown, Baltimore, Emmitsburg, and Bardstown.

51. He left without finishing, June, 1833 (Hun, letter).

52. Fire destroyed the building in 1870 (photographs; letters from Abbé Joseph St. Denis, October 29, November 29, 1925, to Rooney; "Le Diocèse de Montréal à la fin du 19e siècle," pp. 420-431, typescript in parish records, St. Joseph's, Chambly; B. J. Allaire, *Dictionnaire Biographique du Clergé Canadien-Français*, I, 386; Benjamin Sulte and Gerard Malchelas, *Mélanges Historiques* (Montreal, 1922), IX; *Guide to Fort Chambly* (Ottawa, 1938).

53. Account Book, St. Peter's College, 1818-1860 (St. Joseph's Rectory, Chambly-Bassin, Quebec), kindly copied for author by George M. Driscoll. The prospectus (*F J*, December 1, 1849) was quite advanced; annual board and tuition were \$100. Thomas Houlahan of Brooklyn and Mr. Fallon of Williamsburg were cited among five references to the college (*F J*, April 19, 1851).

54. Meehan says the climate was too severe (*B D E*, October 12, 1890). The dates given for his Chambly studies range between 1831 and 1834 (Mitchell, p. ix; Meehan, III, 527; Vallette in Ross, I, 812; New York *Herald*, October 11, 1903; *St. Mary's Parish* (Albany, 1897); *B D E*, October 12, 1890; Brooklyn *Leader*, January 3, 1892; Hun, letter). The surviving Chambly records add to the uncertainty. The Account Book of St. Peter's College contains a list of some 60 students headed "1833 Oct. 1, Compte du Collège." The sixteenth name is that of John Loughlin. It is crossed out by three vertical lines. Opposite his name and most of the others' is marked £20. His name occurs again on the right side of another page, the left side of which has an

account of Walter J. Quarter, dated 1832 Mai 16. Loughlin's column gives no year but states, Mai 18, Juin 1, J. Loughlin £15:15.

55. Cf. *supra*, Chap. V, fn. 9. The departure of McCloskey and Loughlin from Nyack in the fall of 1834, suggest, if not the fire, a temporary suspension of the college.

56. The letters are in A M S M C. Loughlin was not quite 17. Since Loughlin attended Nyack, the "Mai 18, Juin 1" (fn. 54, *supra*) can only mean May, 1833 or 1832. Apparent confirmation follows from Dubois' statement of October 7, 1834, that he had already spent over \$400 on Loughlin. Some of the \$400 may have been spent at Chambly where tuition was annually \$100 (fn. 53). This may indicate Loughlin left Albany Academy for Chambly in 1832, not in 1833, as Hun states (*supra*, fn. 51).

57. Student lists, 1835, 1837 (A M S M C). A common practice (Meline-McSweeney, *Story of the Mountain* [Emmitsburg, 1911], I, 345, 365).

58. C D, 1834-1839; list, June, 1837 (A M S M C). Vacation extended from July 1 to August 15. Twelve and a half cents pocket money was distributed weekly. Tuition and extras ranged from \$167 in 1833 to \$182 in 1834. Georgetown charged \$150 in 1833 (N Y W R C D, October 8, 12, 1833; February 15, 1834).

59. Mount St. Mary's Blotter (A M S M C). Sundry homely items of expense, contracted by Loughlin, mostly for clothing were entered but his scholastic record was not found.

60. Sister Mary A. McCann, *History of Mother Seton's Daughters, The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati* (New York, 1917), I, 265. Cf. ordination list, A M S M C.

61. The letter is postmarked New York, August 9 (A M S M C).

62. "Journal de Louis Regis Deluol, S.S.," August 10, 1839. St. Mary's Seminary Register of Students, 1839, p. 337, cites Loughlin as present. If the full course of theology was then three years, Loughlin, who entered first theology in the fall of 1836, seems to have lost a year because of tutorial duties (fn. 57). Why his father, now offering to pay his tuition, preferred to do so at Baltimore, instead of at the Mount, may indicate some disappointment at his son's retardation, perhaps a feeling that a change would be advantageous, perhaps a wish to refresh the French begun at Chambly.

63. C D, 1840.

64. A M S M C.

65. Deluol's "Journal," October 7, 1840.

66. F J, October 24, 1840. His name appears as ordained in 1840 from St. Mary's, Baltimore, by Dubois (*Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice* [Baltimore, 1891], p. 52). Cf. Ordinations, St. Mary's Seminary, I; Register, St. Mary's Seminary, I, 90. (Archives, St. Mary's Seminary).

67. Lynch, *op.cit.*, pp. 65-69; "Ecclesiastical History of Cattaraugus County," *USCH Mag*, III (1890), 325; C D, 1842. That Loughlin resumed teaching at Emmitsburg for a short time (B D E, October 12, 1890; *Bk Cit*, October 30, 1887; Meehan, III, 527), seems unlikely. C D, 1841, mentions but does not assign him. C D, 1842, places him at St. Patrick's, New York.

68. C D, 1842; Mitchell, p. x; New York *Herald*, October 11, 1903; *Sketch, St. Anthony's Church* (Brooklyn, 1897), p. 16. He took a Sunday school outing to Rose Hill, August 13, 1844 (F J, August 17, 1844).

69. Out of a total in the period of about 9,300 baptisms and 3,900 marriages (J. J. Moran, *St. Patrick's old Cathedral, New York*, to author, January 3, 23, 1939).

70. Matthew P. Kelly, "The Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the Diocese of Brooklyn" (typescript, Washington, 1922).

71. *Valentine's Manual* (New York, 1850), p. 323.

72. John M. Farley, *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral* (New York, 1908), p. 108.

73. *CD*, 1892, p. 49.

74. Shea, IV, 369.

75. The synod, planned for 1853, was held in October, 1854.

76. *AA B*, 2913.

77. Same to same (*AA B*, 2912). The "embarrassments" have not been discovered.

78. September 1, 1852, quoting Bishop James O. Vandevelde of Chicago of July 9 (*A A N Y*, A-12).

79. F. P. Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore, to his brother Archbishop Peter R. Kenrick of St. Louis, October 20, 1852 (F. E. Tourscher, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence* [Lancaster, 1920], p. 337).

80. Francis P. Kenrick to Archbishop John Purcell of Cincinnati, November 10, 1852 (*A U N D*) and to Hughes, November 10, 1852, quoting Dr. O'Connor (*A A N Y*, A-12). Vandevelde agreed the cardinals rejected Newark and Brooklyn on the strength of Hughes' opposition (Vandevelde to Purcell, March 25, 1853 [*A U N D*]).

81. January 7, 1853 (*A A N Y*, A-12). F. P. Kenrick wrote similarly to P. R. Kenrick that John Loughlin might be proposed for Chicago (Tourscher, *op.cit.*, p. 342). And again, January 18, 1853, that John Loughlin could preside over Brooklyn and Bayley could preside over Newark (*ibid.*, p. 349).

82. F. P. Kenrick to James Bayley, secretary to Hughes, February 16, 1853: "No news from Rome since 7 December when further information as to the motives for erecting new Sees and the merits of those recommended was demanded" (*A A N Y*, A-12).

83. *F J*, September 14, 1853. Cf. illustration facing page 163, for brief.

84. *F J*, November 2, 1853. Cf. October 19, 23, 1853. Bayley was Archbishop of Baltimore, 1872-1877; de Goesbriand died, 1899 (Sister M. Hildergarde Yeager, C.S.C., *The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore* [Washington, 1947]). Admission was a dollar; the proceeds for the Christian Brothers. The clergy attending brought a rich white chasuble, alb, cincture, amice, biretum, breviary, and pontificale (*F J*, October 26, 1853).

85. *Metropolitan*, I (1853), 608, 609.

86. *F J*, October 30, November 2, 1853; Laurence Kehoe, *Complete Works of Reverend John Hughes* (New York, 1866), II, 217.

87. *F J*, November 9, 1853. It was postponed from Sunday, the 6th, so that more priests could attend (*F J*, November 2, 1853).

88. *F J*, November 13, 1853; *B D E*, February 15, 1871. Bishop Loughlin first visited Brooklyn in 1834 (Loughlin quoted in Mitchell, p. 196).

89. *F J*, February 25, 1871; *Bk Cit*, October 30, 1887; press, October 19, 1890.

90. *F J*, November 13, 1853; *C Y*, October 19, 1890; *Bk Cit*, October 30, 1887.

91. *F J*, November 13, 1853. Bayley, installed in Newark, November 1 (*F J*, October 30, 1853), "started on the 1½ past 5 o'clock train for Trenton in the midst of a violent storm" (*Register*, Diocese of Newark, November 9, 1853, in Archives, Archdiocese of Newark).

APPENDIX FOR CHAPTER IX

35. Bishop Loughlin was born of Mary McNulty and John [?] Loughlin. The bishop's sister, Catherine, married twice. Her second marriage was to Timothy O'Keefe and there were no children. Of her first marriage to Thomas Collins, was born Captain Thomas Collins, Jr. He, in turn, married Mary Merrick, a niece of David Merrick, S.J., and also of Teresa Merrick, who became Sister M. John Berchmans, a Visitandine.

Thomas Collins, Jr., died a captain in the American Civil War, and his widow became Sister Mary Joseph, a Sister Adorer of the Precious Blood. Two children had been born of their marriage: Katherine, who became Mother Catherine de Ricci in the same community as her mother; and Regina, who was married by Bishop Loughlin in Brooklyn on June 24, 1890, to Louis M. Grant. Grant was a nephew of Cornelia Peacock, who became the foundress of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, and of Pierce Connelly. The story of the saintliness of Cornelia and the apostasy of Pierce is a familiar tale. Regina and Louis Grant had five children, one of whom, Katherine, became Mother M. Augusta of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus.

Sister Mary Joseph and Mother Catherine de Ricci entered the Sisters Adorers of the Precious Blood at St. Hyacinth, Canada, in 1886 and were members of the Brooklyn foundation made three years later. Sister Mary Joseph died in 1890; her daughter, Mother Catherine, was the Brooklyn superior, 1898-1911. The author is indebted to Mother M. Augusta, to John Loughlin Grant, her brother, and to their mother, Mrs. Louis Merrick (née Regina Collins) Grant, for the above data.

CHAPTER X

1. *C R*, April 27, 1872; January 2, 1875; February 12, 1881.
2. *F J*, May 21, 1854; *C R*, June 1, 1872; May 13, 1882.
3. *C R*, June 12, 1875.
4. *C R*, February 19, 1881.
5. *Protestant Independent*, cited in *C R*, July 27, 1872.
6. In New York, the Irish mission of Our Lady of the Rosary began in 1881; the German Leo House, 1889; the Italian St. Raphael Society, 1891; the Austrian Society, 1898; and the French Jeanne d'Arc House in the same period.
7. Bishops Timon of Buffalo and Loras of Dubuque (M. M. Hoffman, *The Church Founders of the Northwest* [Milwaukee, 1937], p. 353). For Loras' "admirable plan," cf. Augustus Thebaud, *Forty Years in the United States* (New York, 1904), p. 277.

8. *F J*, March 1, 1856. Cf. John R. Hassard, *Life of the Most Rev. John Hughes, First Archbishop of New York* (New York, 1866), p. 393. Sister Mary Gilbert Kelly, O.P., *Catholic Immigrant Colonization Projects in the United States 1815-1860* (New York, 1939), p. 251; Theodore Maynard, *The Story of American Catholicism* (New York, 1941), pp. 448 ff.

9. Richard J. Purcell, "Immigration from the Canal Era to the Civil War," *History of the State of New York*, VII (1935), 58. Cf. *F J*, March 8, 1851.

10. *C R*, July 27, 1878.

11. September 28, 1864 (A U N D).

12. Kelly, *op.cit.*; *C R*, June 14, 1879. Father Kiely and Hickey investigated a Catholic colony in Minnesota (J. M. Kiely to J. W. Kavanagh, Dublin, July 3, 1878 [A D B]).

13. *C R*, May 30, 1891.

14. Ellis, I, 445 f. Gibbons often stopped at John D. Keiley's Brooklyn home (Ellis, I, 505, 571; II, 109).

15. Boyd's *Long Island Business Directory, 1888-1889* (Brooklyn, 1889), p. 331.

16. Bishop Bernard McQuaid cited, *Memorial Volume of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1885), p. 168.

17. *Star*, March 15, 17, 1854, citing *Irish American*. "Not an intoxicated man was seen" (*F J*, March 27, 1858). Cf. *Star*, February 8, 1854; March 17, 1860; *F J*, March 15, 17, 19, 1854; March 29, 1856; April 2, 1864; *NY T*, March 17, 1858; March 17, 1859; March 31, 1860; April 6, 1861; *B D E*, March 18, 1864; *Sag Harbor Corrector*, March 22, 1862.

18. Cf. William D'Arcy, *The Fenian Movement in the United States, 1858-1886* (Washington, 1947).

19. *B D E*, October 12, 1890.

20. *NY T*, March, May, 1863; *B D E*, January 13, 1864; October 12, 1890. In 1880 over \$20,000 was sent (*C R*, February 14, March 13, April 3, 1880); *Sag Harbor Corrector*, February 21, 1880; *Sag Harbor Express*, March 27, 1880.

21. *C R*, February 26, 1881.

22. For more data on the parishes, pastors, and parish schools, cf. Sharp's *Priests and Parishes*. . . . The *C R* foresaw the building of Brooklyn Bridge would crowd the city (May 15, 1875) and would create a great demand for new churches (April 12, 1884).

23. Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (New York, 1909), I, 582. Cf. Joseph Schrembs, "The Catholic German Immigrants' Contribution," *Catholic Builders of the Nation* (Boston, 1923), II, 75-83.

24. "Notes and Comment," *CH R*, VI (1926), 557.

25. *Brownson's Review* (July, 1875), p. 412.

26. Cited in Theodore Roemer, O.M. Cap., *The Ludwig Missionsverein . . . 1838-1918* (New York, 1933), p. 95. Cf. Roemer, "Miscellany," *CH R*, XXV (1939), 54; *F J*, September 25, 1858; Hoffman, *op.cit.*, p. 327.

27. For the German controversy, cf. *infra*, Chap. XVI, fn. 73 ff; for the school question, cf. *infra*, Chap. XVIII, fn. 47 ff. Cf. Shea, IV, 365.

28. H. C. Syrett, *The City of Brooklyn, 1865-1898* (New York, 1944), p. 19; *New York Panorama* (Federal Writers Project, New York, 1938), p. 101.

29. *C R*, June 22, 1878.

30. *C R*, September 12, 1885; "The Leo House for Immigrants," *A C H S Records*, XVI (1905), 447; *C N*, October 7, 1939; *B T*, November 25, 1939.

31. *C. R.*, May 26, 1883; Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* (New York, 1925), p. 90; *New York Panorama* (New York, 1938), pp. 93 ff.

32. *C R*, May 27, June 10, 1882.

33. *C R*, January 28, 1893; May 26, 1883, April 16, 1889. Cf. Henry J. Browne, "The Italian Problem in the Catholic Church of the United States, 1880-1900," *H R S*, XXXV (1946), 46-73.

34. *Eagle Almanac* (Brooklyn, 1892), 143.

35. Aurelio Palmieri, "The Contribution of the Italian Clergy to the United States," *Catholic Builders of the Nation* (Boston, 1923), II, 144. Cf. Nicola Fusco, "The Italian Racial Strain," *ibid.*, II, 111-127.

36. Palmieri, *op.cit.*, pp. 127, 129. After establishing an Italian church (*F J*, May 15, 1858). Archbishop Hughes reported the same story in letters to Father Bernard Smith, O.S.B., Irish College, Rome, March, September, 1861 (*A A N Y*, A-7; A-9). Cf. American bishops at III Plenary Council in 1884. Zwierlein, II, 333 ff. St. Anthony of Padua's, New York City, was the first Italian church built in the United States (1859). Meehan, "Tales of Old New York," *H R S*, XVIII (1928), 152; W. H. Bennett, *Handbook to Catholic Historical New York*, (New York, 1927), p. 650; Smith, II, 448.

37. Father Michael M. Marco was at St. Patrick's, Long Island City, 1869-1874.

38. *C R*, June 10, 1882.

39. Journal of John Vogel, P.S.M., 1907; *B T*, December 6, 1941.

40. *B T*, June 4, 1910.

41. *Cath Exam*, June 20, 1885; *C R*, June 6, 13, 27, 1885; October 5, 1895; press, February 5, 1888; Meehan, III, 586.

42. *C R*, January 2, 1886; January 29, March 21, 1887; press, February 5, 1888.

43. *C R*, May 7, 1887; *B D E*, August 4, 1887; November 16, 26, 28, 1888; *B T*, June 4, 1910; November 23, 1912; *A Q*.

44. *F J*, November 15, 1891; *C R*, November 21, 1891.

45. *B T*, May 28, 1910.

46. *A A N Y*, A-21.

47. *B D E*, June 2, 1870; Father Anthony Milukas to author, April, 1940. Cf. John H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati 1821-1921* (New York, 1921), p. 363.

48. *C R*, December 11, 1875; October 27, 1877. Niedzielski lived at 107 Tillary Street.

49. February 13, 1876. Initiation fee was \$2.00; monthly dues, \$.35; sick benefit, \$3.00 weekly; death benefit, \$25.00, plus \$1.00 from each member to the widow. Mass was offered for the deceased in St. Casimir's and six mourners went to the interment. Confession was thrice yearly; meetings quarterly; non-attendance was fined 25 cents (*Constitution and By-Laws of the Polish Roman Catholic Society of St. Albert Martyr, Brooklyn* [A D B]).

50. *C R*, January 14, 1882.

51. Press, February 5, 1888.

52. *B D E*, June 2, 1890.

53. Press, June 26, 1887; November 27, 1890.

54. *B T*, August 20, 1910; July 22, 1911; *A Q*.
55. This and following data kindly supplied by Milukas, April, 1940.
56. Mikas Tvaranskas, an indifferent Catholic layman, was co-publisher with him in 1885 of the *Unija*. Tvaranskas, in Maspeth, started the first Lithuanian paper in America, *Gazieta Lietuwiska*, in 1879. It lasted six months.
57. *C R*, April 28, December 15, 1888.
58. The property was liquidated at auction in 1894 and he became schismatic. In April that year Bishop McDonnell reestablished the congregation as St. Mary of the Angels.
59. Canon of the diocese of Bellay, France, and well acquainted with the Curé of Ars, he arrived in Brooklyn, February 2, 1869 (Jollon's letter to Father E. J. McCabe, February 2, 1888 [*A D B*]).
60. *B C*, July 24, September 11, 1869.
61. Jollon's letter.
62. *C R*, May 25, September 7, December 7, 1889.
63. Michael May, V.G., to Bishop Loughlin, December 6, 1868 (*A D B*). In 1888 the number of French was "very small" (*Bk Cit*, April 8, 1888).
64. *C R*, February 21, 1891.
65. *B D E*, December 28, 1891; *Standard Union*, December 28, 1891; press, December 27, 1891.
66. James E. Bobier to Bishop Loughlin, April 21, 1884 (*A D B*). Cf. *C R*, July 4, 1885.
67. Bobier to Loughlin, December, 1885 (*A D B*); *C R*, January 9, 1886.
68. *A Q*. The first resident pastor, Father Wenceslaus W. Kroupa, came in 1919.
69. *A Q*.
70. *B D E*, January 6, 1868; July 15, 1870.
71. *A Q*. Press, June 19, 1887; *Bk Cit*, June 17, 1888. McGinness soon left and Quigley died in 1872. Philip Borgna, the first Vincentian in Brooklyn, was at St. Mary's, Williamsburg, 1843-1844.
72. *B D E*, July 12, 1868; August 5, 1894.
73. *B C*, August 28, 1869; *Bk Cit*, May 12, 1889; press, June 19, 1887.
74. Designed by Keely, it cost over \$300,000 (*C R*, July 7, 1888). It was dedicated, May 20, 1894, by Bishop McDonnell, Archbishop Elder of Cincinnati pontificated, and Cardinal Gibbons preached (*C R*, June 2, 1894; invitation [*A D B*]). Last Mass was said in the old church, July 19, 1894 (*B D E*, August 5, 1894).
75. *C R*, September 26, 1885; *C Y*, October, 1885; press, June 19, 1887.
76. *C R*, September 21, 1872; *A Q*.
77. *A Q*; press, September 5, 1893.
78. *B D E*, November 5, 1893.
79. *C R*, September 21, 1872.
80. *C R*, June 12, November 13, 1875. It was the first shrine church to Our Lady of Lourdes in the country (*Bk Cit*, September 11, 1887).
81. *B D E*, November 5, 1893; *Bk Cit*, September 11, 1887; press, October 12, 1886; September 5, 1893. The cornerstone of the present church was laid by Bishop McDonnell, October 4, 1896 (*C R*, October 18, 1896). He dedicated it December 9, 1906. It cost \$400,000 (*A Q*).
82. At Mrs. Brennan's house (*A Q*).
83. *C R*, March 6, 1880; January 15, 1881.

84. A D B; A Q. In 1895 the present church opened and Father Thomas F. Horan became first resident pastor.

85. The first Mass was at Miss Margaret O'Gorman's, 56th Street (C R, January 9, 1892). On May 8, 1892, Father May, V.G., laid the cornerstone of the first church (press).

CHAPTER XI

1. *Star*, March 30, 1854; November 23, 1858.
2. Zwierlein, III, 175; Cf. Richard J. Gabel, *Public Funds for Church and Private Schools* (Washington, 1937), pp. 479, 523-524.
3. C R, June 12, 1875. Cf. C.Y., April 10, 1875.
4. *Port Jefferson Courant*, June 26, 1875.
5. C R, September 14, 1872.
6. C R, October 26, 1878.
7. C R, August 9, 1873.
8. C R, August 23, 1873.
9. B C, June 4, 1869.
10. B D E, March 13, 1870; C R, July 10, 1875.
11. C R, June 15, 1875; June 11, 1887.
12. B C, October 28, 1869.
13. Gabel, *op.cit.*, pp. 351 f; C R, June 22, 1872; W. W. Munsell, *History of Queens County* (New York, 1882), p. 286.
14. C R, July 21, 1888.
15. *Brooklyn Leader*, August 2, 1891.
16. *Annals, Ludwig Missionsverein*, XXVIII (1860), 532. Cf. *infra* Chaps. XIII, fn. 42 ff, and XIV, fn. 9 ff, for gifts received.
17. Syllabus of Pius IX, December 8, 1864; "Instruction Concerning the Public Schools Addressed to the Bishops in North America," November 24, 1875. Cf. C R, July 5, 1879; November 14, 1891.
18. Father John Heffernan at Sag Harbor asked Bishop Loughlin, March 12, 1877, what distance from school was required before absolution might be given non-conforming parents of public school children (A D B). Cf. C R, September 16, 1882; C Y, October, 1884. Malone was the only Brooklyn priest to echo McGlynn's idea that Catholic schools were unnecessary.
19. In 1891, 25 sisters taught, 19 others were in orphanages and hospitals (C D, 1892).
20. F J, September 30, 1854.
21. In 1856 it had 100 pupils (F J, May 31, 1856).
22. Jottings of Sister Maria Louise, Archives, Mount St. Vincent, New York. It was sold in 1887 (press). The parish school occupies the site.
23. B C, October 14, 1869.
24. C D, 1871.
25. The basement accommodated 500 boys; the second floor, 500 girls; the top floor had a large lecture room, lending library, and room for the Young Men's Association (B C, October 7, 1869; Bk Cit, May 8, 1887; *Golden Jubilee, St. Charles Borromeo Church* (Brooklyn, 1920); C D, 1871; B D E, February 15, 1871; F J, February 25, 1871.
26. C D, 1881; C R, February 26, 1881; Bk Cit, May 8, 1887.

27. Margaret Bosslett. Eugene J. Crawford, *The Daughters of Dominic on Long Island* (New York, 1938), pp. 77, 82, 348.

28. In 1891 there were 301 professed sisters, 20 novices, and 11 postulants (*CD*, 1892). By 1938, 10 American communities totalling over 4,000 sisters had originated from Williamsburg (Crawford, *op.cit.*, p. xxiii).

29. Crawford, *op.cit.*, pp. 191, 305, 311.

30. *CD*, 1861-1871.

31. Mother Anselma, O.P., to author, August 5, 11, 1945. Until 1910 the community owned all their parish convents.

32. Cf. *infra*, Chap. XV, fn. 21.

33. *FJ*, September 29, 1855; *Star*, September 29, 1855. *FJ*, September 30, 1854, stated, "A building is now being erected in close proximity to the Cathedral which will be occupied by the Sisters and in which a Female School will be established, thus giving to the Catholics of that and adjoining parishes a much needed blessing." This is confusing, if accurate. It might refer to the convent at Jay and Chapel Streets where the sisters lived. The "castle" school had been built in the time of Smith. Cf. James A. Rooney, *Catholic Chronologist*, pamphlet (Brooklyn, September, 1915); Archives, Sisters of Mercy, New York City; *BDE*, December 3, 1895; *CN*, September 11, 1905; Joseph F. Keany, *R. C. O. A. Society of Brooklyn, 1830-1930* (Brooklyn, 1930); Minutes, Board Directors, RCOA Society, November 17, 1862; *CD*, 1856-1857.

34. *Metropolitan*, IV (1856), 134; *FJ*, February 2, 1856; February 6, 1854; Archives, Sisters of Mercy, New York City. There were 14 sisters in 1862 (*NYT*, June 21, 1862); there were 24 in 1870 (*CD*, 1871).

35. Rooney, *op.cit.*, states the bishop bought the corner of Debevoise Place and DeKalb Avenue for it, but built Our Lady of Mercy Church there.

36. *C.D.*, 1867; *Leaves from the Annals, Sisters of Mercy* (New York, 1899).

37. Sister Mary J. Gately, *The Sisters of Mercy, 1831-1930* (New York, 1931), I, 297 ff.

38. *CD*, 1857; *Leaves from the Annals, Sisters of Mercy*, IV (New York, 1899), 539 f.

39. *BC*, April 3, 1869.

40. Convent Annals. Cf. Sister M. Bernetta Brislen, O.S.F., "The Episcopacy of Leonard Neale," *HRS*, XXXIV (1945), 41 ff. Mesdames McDonough and Harvey sheltered them.

41. *FJ*, November 24, 1855; July 14, 1856; *BDE*, February 19, 1856; *Metropolitan*, February 20, March 20, 1856; *BDE*, August 17, 1906.

42. *CD*, 1871; *FJ*, February 25, 1871.

43. *FJ*, July 14, 1856; August 28, September 11, 1858; April 19, 1862; *Star*, July 15, 1858; *NYT*, July 23, 1858; *BC*, April 3, 1869; *CR*, January 2, 1875; January 1, 1881.

44. Ann Osborne was the first to receive the white veil, August 27, 1856 (*Metropolitan*, August 20, September 20, 1856). By 1891 there were 26 choir nuns, six professed domestic sisters, and six out-sisters (*CD*, 1892).

45. *CR*, January, 1881; May 2, 1885. The Sisters of St. Joseph at St. James' school next used the old building. It was demolished in 1906 (*BDE*, August 17, 1906).

46. Archives, Visitation Monastery, Riverdale, New York; Bishop Loughlin to Archbishop Spalding, November 24, 1864 (*AAB*, 34 S-1).

47. *F J*, September 23, 1865; Archives, Visitation Monastery, Riverdale, New York.

48. *F J*, July 7, 1866; *B C*, April 3, July 17, 1869; *B D E*, February 25, 1871; *C R*, January 11, 1881.

49. *C D*, 1892.

50. Photostat of original at Mount St. Joseph's, Chestnut Hill, Pa., kindly furnished by Sister Mary Ignatius, C.S.J., of Brooklyn.

51. Copied from Hall of Records by Sister Mary Ignatius, C.S.J.

52. *F J*, August 28, September 4, 11, 1858; March 26, 1859; *N Y T*, August 10, 1861.

53. *C D*, 1859-1871.

54. Sisters Mary de Sales, Mary John, and Mary de Chantal (*F J*, August 8, 1857). Miss M. B. Tello, the first to join the young community, entered in October, 1856. She made her novitiate at St. Joseph's Academy in Sherrystown, Pa., and received the name of Sister Mary Hortensia. In August, 1857, she returned to Brooklyn (Community Archives, Brentwood). For similar ceremonies, cf. *F J*, March 26, 1859; *Metropolitan Record* (New York), August 25, 1860; *N Y T*, August 25, 1860; August 24, 1861; *B C*, April 3, 1869; August 21, October 21, 1869. The bishop gave weekly conferences (*C Y*, October 19, 1890).

55. Rev. Dr. Hawks built the place in 1839 for a boys' school. It failed as did the women's school next conducted there (*Metropolitan Record*, September 1, 1860; "The Sisters of St. Joseph," MS. by Irene M. Cullen, read at a B C H Society meeting at Nativity Hall, May 13, 1903; *Dedication, Sacred Heart Chapel, Brentwood*, 1933; *St. Michael's Centennial, Flushing*). The dormitory had "large tanks of water for the convenience of the pupils. In case of fire they are invaluable" (*B C*, September 18, 1869).

56. *N Y T*, August 25, 1860; *F J*, October 20, 1866; *Metropolitan Record*, September 1, 1860.

57. *A Q*; *C D*, 1871.

58. *N Y T*, August 25, 1860; *Metropolitan Record*, September 1, 1860; *C R*, January 2, 1875; Cullen, *op.cit.* The Mount St. Vincent Sisters of Charity charged \$355 and extras in 1866 (*C D*, 1864-1867).

59. *B C*, April 3, September 18, 1869; *C D*, 1871; *F J*, February 25, 1871.

60. *A Q*. Board and tuition became \$105 per session (*C R*, January 2, 1875). Alphonsus McMaster, son of the editor, was among its 23 pupils (McMaster letters, November 29, 1876; January 16, 1878 [A U N D]).

61. *Catholic American*, September 3, 1887. In 1891 it had 60 boys; its address was "Bayside P.O., Whitestone" (*C D*, 1892). The Bayside pastor attended it (*C R*, March 28, May 2, 1896).

62. *F J*, October 20, 1866; *C R*, July 12, 1879.

63. *A Q*. In 1891 there were 210 professed sisters, 63 professed lay sisters, 32 novices, and 5 postulants (*C D*, 1892, which also states "total number in diocese, 323").

64. Katherine Burton, *Mother Butler of Marymount* (New York, 1944), p. 75; Helene Magaret, *Gailhac of Béziers* (New York, 1946).

65. *Sag Harbor Corrector*, February 3, 1877; cf. *Sag Harbor Express*, April 19, 1877.

66. *Sag Harbor Express*, April 19, May 10, 1877; Burton, *op.cit.*, pp. 78 f. In 1891 it had 20 pupils and 15 sisters (*C D*, 1892).

67. *Sag Harbor Express*, May 10, 1877. It was "one of the best and most flourishing academies of the country" (*C R*, August 26, 1882).

68. Burton, *op.cit.*, pp. 79, 80. Cf. correspondence between Loughlin, Cardinal Simeoni, and Heffernan during 1886; also Corrigan's Note Book (A A N Y, F).

69. A Q. In 1891 there were five sisters, one postulant, and two lay persons engaged with 291 children (*C D*, 1892).

70. The SS. Peter and Paul conference of the St. Vincent de Paul Society reported in 1858 that it had "sustained a great loss by two of the most worthy members having joined the Christian Brothers" (Minutes, Particular Council, St. Vincent de Paul Society, I, 32). The school had seven brothers in 1891 (*C D*, 1892).

71. *F J*, July 26, October 18, 1856; September 30, 1854.

72. Murray, pp. 429 ff.

73. *C N*, c. 1888, which states he left in 1877; *C R*, February 18, 1888; *B T*, April 21, 1917. Graduates organized the De La Salle Club in 1881 (*C R*, February 18, 1893).

74. It was said (*B T*, March 6, 1948) that St. James' Academy preceded the first public high school. George C. Harrison (letter to *New York Times*, November 3, 1947) asserted the Central Grammar School at Court and Livingston Streets, begun in 1878, was the first public high school in the metropolitan area.

75. A Q; *C R*, September 25, 1886; *C N*, c. 1888. The seniors organized the Loughlin Literary Union in 1883 and published the *Mentor* monthly (*C N*, December 30, 1899).

76. McHale, Tuam, to Loughlin, April, 1855 (A D B).

77. Cf. Ellis, I, 386.

78. Martin St. Leger, received August 15, 1860 (A Q); three more December 22, 1860 (*N Y T*, January 5, 1861). Of seven professed and seven received, August-September, 1869, eight were Irish. Two of the six born in the United States were of German descent. None was born in Brooklyn. Cf. *B C*, September 23, 1869. *C R*, October 19, 1889; August 9, 1894. In 1891 there were 82 professed brothers, 10 novices, and 15 postulants (*C D*, 1892).

79. *Souvenir, Diamond Jubilee, Franciscan Brothers* (Brooklyn, 1933).

80. *F J*, July 31, 1869; *B D E*, October 14, 1938; *C D*, 1861; *Souvenir*, cited *supra*, fn. 79.

81. *B C*, April 3, 1869; *C R*, January 2, 1875; January 1, 1881; July 19, 1884; *B D E*, February 15, 1871; Murray, p. 480. In 1866 Fordham and Manhattan Colleges charged \$300 and extras for board and tuition (*C D*, 1861-1871).

82. Press, 1892; *C D*, 1892.

83. Brother Cyprian to Bishop Loughlin, October 11, 1873 (A D B). In 1870 they taught 200 boys at St. Michael's parish school (*C D*, 1871).

84. *C D*, 1881; *Souvenir*, cited *supra*, fn. 79, p. 30. In 1882 it located at 138.

85. *Souvenir*, cited *supra*, fn. 79, pp. 32, 36; *C D*, 1892.

86. *F J*, July 31, 1869; *B C*, July 31, September 23, 1869. After six years' suspension he offered his first Mass in the college chapel, Christmas, 1892 (*New York Herald*, December 25, 1892).

87. *N Y T*, July 15, August 25, 1870; *B D E*, February 15, 1871; *F J*, July

31, 1869; February 25, 1871; Shea, in Stiles, III, 735; *Bk Cit*, June 19, 1887; press, June 17, 1888; A Q.

88. *C R*, July 11, 1884; A Q.

89. *F J*, September 10, 1870; Mulrenan, p. 82. Tuition became \$20 quarterly (*C R*, January 2, 1875). St. Francis Xavier College, New York, charged day scholars \$15 quarterly in 1866 (*C D*, 1867).

90. *Bk Cit*, June 19, 1887; *B D E*, March 25, 1871. There were 125 in 1875 (Murray, p. 480). A Q; *C R*, July 6, 1872. Cf. *C D*, 1881.

91. Press, June 17, 1888; Joseph McSorley, C.S.P., class of 1888, to author, January 19, 1942; *Bk Cit*, August 17, 1891. In 1891 there were 165 students listed (high school not specifically mentioned) and a faculty of 12 priests (*C D*, 1892).

92. John Power, "Orestes A. Brownson," "Brownson's Theory of Education," "Brownson's Views on Responsibility for Education," "Brownson's Attitude toward Catholic Education," *A C H S Records* (June, 1951, through June, 1952).

93. "90 teachers had 80 to 120 scholars each and 21 classes were crowded into dark and sometimes damp basements" (Report of the Public School Board, in Henry I. Hazelton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens and Counties of Nassau and Suffolk* [Chicago, 1925], III, 1698-1700). Superintendent Fields had urged the discontinuance of coeducation (*C R*, April 25, 1874).

94. *C R*, December 16, 1876; March 5, 1881.

95. *C R*, April 2, 1881.

96. *C R*, April 5, 1884. Cf. November 9, 1889; October 11, 1890; *C Y*, September 28, 1890.

97. 90 per cent from 1867-1875, whereas public school population increased 13 per cent, reported Superintendent Kindle, New York Board of Education (*C R*, February 17, 1877).

98. Emile Jonveaux cited by John J. Meng, "A Century of American Catholicism as Seen through French Eyes," *C H R*, XXVII (April, 1941).

99. Smith, II, 333.

100. *C Y*, April, 1884. St. Paul's basement was too small for the boys (*F J*, September 30, 1854). Visitation Academy was overcrowded (*B C*, August 7, 1869).

101. Like James Garvey's classical school "under Bishop Loughlin's patronage at St. James Church," teaching only Greek and Latin for college entrance (*F J*, December 30, 1854). When he died as teacher of St. Joseph's parish school, a successor was sought, "well qualified in all the branches of an English education" (*F J*, January 22, June 13, 1857). M. T. P. Corbally's Institute, Gates Avenue near Grand, was another (*F J*, September 6, 1862).

102. It could accommodate 2,000 (*F J*, June 19, August 25, September 25, 1858; *N Y T*, October 29, 1859). In 1891 St. Vincent de Paul's, St. Patrick's, and Holy Trinity registered over 1,400 each (*C D*, 1892).

103. *Souvenir, Diamond Jubilee, Franciscan Brothers* (Brooklyn, 1933), p. 34; *Bk Cit*, August 7, 1887; *B D E*, October 18, 1890.

104. *B D E*, January 30, 1871; *C R*, August 31, 1878; September 18, 1880.

105. *C R*, December 15, 1877.

106. *C Y*, November, 1883; *C R*, August 31, 1878; May 29, 1886. Other Catholic schools cost twice this. Public school costs in the nation, state, and

city ranged from \$15 to \$36 per capita at that time (*C R*, July 10, 1875; July 13, 1878; February 12, 1881; March 23, 1885).

107. St. Paul's, *infra*. St. James' and St. Benedict's, *supra*.

108. Richard J. Gabel, *Public Funds for Church and Private Schools* (Washington, 1937), p. 474 n, and *passim*.

109. *Thought*, September, 1938. Cf. John K. Sharp, "Secondary Education in Catholic Schools Three Generations Ago," *B T*, January 31, 1942.

110. *B C*, July 17, 1869.

111. *F J*, July 31, 1869. The boys from St. James' underwent semi-annual public examinations at Brooklyn Institute (*C R*, February 18, 1888).

112. *F J*, July 4, 1854.

113. *F J*, August 1, 1863. The school had a library (*F J*, March 15, 1854).

114. *C Y*, November, 1883; *Bk Cit*, August 7, 1887; *B D E*, October 18, 1890).

115. *C D*, 1892.

116. J. A. Burns and B. J. Kohlbrenner, *History of Catholic Education in the United States* (New York, 1937), p. 209. J. O'K. Murray in 1880 revised Kearney's *Ancient and Modern History*. For Catholic texts sold at Catholic Publication Society, 9 Warren Street, New York, cf. *C R*, June 12, 1875.

117. *F J*, March 15, September 30, 1854; February 25, 1871.

118. *F J*, November 22, 1862.

119. Merrick, p. 130.

120. *C R*, December 19, 1874.

121. Eugene J. Crawford, *The Daughters of Dominic on Long Island* (New York, 1938), p. 216.

122. Mother Anselma, O. P., to author, August 11, 1945.

123. At Amityville English, Latin, German, algebra, astronomy, history, physics, botany, and zoology (Mother Anselma). From 1884-1899, Dr. J. H. Haaren, Associate Superintendent Brooklyn Public Schools, gave weekly lectures (Crawford, *op.cit.*, pp. 168, 217 f).

124. They were Fathers James O'Connell, Dauffenbach, Eisele, Duffy, Hoffman, Hill, Mitchell, Foley, Mealia (*Decreta Synodi Brooklynensis Secunda 1887* [New York, 1887]). Francis P. Cassidy "Catholic Education in the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore," *C H R*, XXXIV (October, 1948), 257-305; (January, 1949), 414-433.

125. Father Bonaventure Frey, O.M. Cap., September 20, 1896, from Detroit, to the Archbishop of Munich (cited Theodore Roemer, *Pioneer Capuchin Letters* [New York, 1936], p. 117). Father Haas, O.M. Cap., had the same opinion in 1886 (*ibid.*, p. 109).

126. By Frey, cited in Roemer, *op.cit.*, p. 118.

127. *C D*, 1892. It lists correctly, 66, but incorrectly summarizes 54 parish schools. The colleges probably included their academy students; other seminarians were studying elsewhere; the girls at Our Lady of Mercy Industrial School were not enumerated. Figures in *Eagle Almanac* (Brooklyn, 1892), p. 125, are incorrect.

CHAPTER XII

1. Minutes, Particular Council, St. Vincent de Paul Society (Office, St. Vincent de Paul Society, Brooklyn), I, 4.

2. *C R*, December 19, 1874; January 15, 1876. The Brooklyn Bureau of Charities began in 1879 (Harold C. Syrett, *The City of Brooklyn, 1865-1898* [New York, 1944]).

3. *C R*, February 14, 1874.

4. Theodore Abel cited in Marguerite T. Boylan, *Social Welfare in the Catholic Church* (New York, 1941), pp. 24-25.

5. Stiles, II, 200, 202, 237, 285, 302, 422, 436, 482, 530; *C R*, November 21, 1885.

6. Boylan, *op.cit.*, pp. 127, 135.

7. *Metropolitan Record*, December 22, 1860; *B C*, June 19, 1869.

8. Boylan, *op.cit.*, pp. 127, 135.

9. Minutes, cited *supra*, I, 139.

10. *Metropolitan Record*, December 22, 1860; *NY T*, November 24, 1860. Hughes was an assemblyman and judge (paper, G. E. O'Hara, *L I C H* Society, September, 1893 [A D B]; *NY T*, February 11, April 22, 1871).

11. Minutes, cited *supra*, I, 61, February 3, 1859; I, 157, August 3, 1860.

12. Minutes, cited *supra*, I, 325, December 7, 1865. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 321-323.

13. Claudius Bradley had been appointed to recover kidnapped children and bring them to the R C O A Society (Minutes, cited *supra*, I, 52). Richard O'Gorman, New York judge, was similarly employed later. Cf. Edward J. McGuire, "The Catholic Bar of New York, 1808-1908," *H R S*, V (1907), 423.

14. *B C*, June 19, September 30, 1869.

15. *C R*, April 30, 1881.

16. Zwierlein, III, 292 ff.

17. *B C*, May 22, June 19, September 30, 1869; *C R*, December 19, 1874; January 8, 1876.

18. *C R*, February 27, 1875.

19. *C R*, February 9, 23, March 8, 1884.

20. Smith, I, 325.

21. *C R*, May 8, August 14, 1875.

22. *C R*, May 13, 1876.

23. *C R*, August 14, 1880.

24. *C R*, March 12, 1881; November 3, 1883.

25. *B C*, June 4, 1869.

26. *C R*, November 2, 9, 1872.

27. In 1877 (letter, William O'Gorman, former overseer, to Archbishop Corrigan, March 12, 1892 [A A N Y, C-43]).

28. *C R*, December 11, 1875.

29. *C R*, December 13, 1884.

30. *C R*, December 19, 1874; January 15, 1876.

31. *South Side Sentinel*, March 18, 1882.

32. *C R*, December 12, 1874; Frederick J. Zwierlein, "The Catholic Church in New York State," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1937), IX, 192.

33. *C R*, June 25, 1881. Cf. April 30, 1881. Zwierlein, III, 281 ff.

34. *C Y*, March, 1883; *C R*, April 21, 1883; February 23, 1884.
35. *Cath Exam*, January 24, February 7, 1885; *C Y*, April, 1885. Governor Grover Cleveland's attitude was controverted (*Cath Exam*, October 4, 1884; Zwierlein, III, 285 f; *C R*, February 21, 28, 1885).
36. Zwierlein, III, 296 ff.
37. *C R*, April 18, 1891. Cf. Zwierlein, in *History of the State of New York* (1937), IX, 186, 192.
38. A Q. The weekly stage trip cost Star of Sea Conference nine dollars (*N Y T*, September 3, 1870; *C R*, July 31, 1875). The imposition of a Protestant Bible on Catholic children was charged (*Golden Jubilee, St. Vincent de Paul Society* [Brooklyn, 1905], p. 14).
39. *C R*, April 24, 1875.
40. *C R*, July 31, 1875; May 15, 1886; Minutes, cited *supra*, I, 321, 355.
41. *C R*, January 4, 1874.
42. *C R*, July 3, October 30, 1886.
43. Minutes, cited *supra*, III, 106, August 4, 1885; *C R*, July 3, October 30, 1886.
44. *C R*, August 21, 1886. Charles Wightman, chaplain of St. John's Home and of Kings County Penitentiary, Crown Heights, and Bernard J. McHugh, pastor of Holy Cross, received each \$300 yearly (*C R*, January 29, 1887).
45. *C R*, June 18, 1887; December 18, 1895.
46. *C R*, October 21, 1882; March 29, 1884; April 17, September 25, 1886; A Q.
47. *Golden Jubilee, St. Vincent de Paul Society* (Brooklyn, 1905); A Q.
48. *C R*, January 3, 1880. The soldiers, half of them Catholic, had one Catholic chaplain in 1874; in 1876, none. In 1879 there were one Catholic and 23 Protestant army and navy chaplains. In 1881, when half the men in each service were Catholic, the navy had 24 chaplains, none Catholic; the army had 26, 2 of them Catholic. In 1895 the navy, half Catholic, had 3 Catholic chaplains of the 24. The army, one-third Catholic in 1897, had 2 Catholic and 32 Protestant chaplains (*C R*, April 4, 1874; December 16, 1876; January 25, 1879; April 30, 1881; July 20, 1895; July 10, 1897). Lack of priests forced Hughes to decline Polk's offer, c. 1845, of a Catholic fleet chaplain (Augustus J. Thebaud, S.J., *Forty Years in the United States of America* [New York, 1904], p. 196).
49. Meehan, "Andrew Parmentier, Horticulturist, and His Daughter, Madame Bayer," *H R S*, III (1903), p. 454; John Furey, "Some Catholic Names in the U. S. Navy List," *H R S*, VI (1911), part I, 160 ff; W. H. Bennett, *Handbook to Catholic Historical New York* (New York, 1927); *C R*, December 26, 1874; March 17, April 28, 1888; November 11, 1890; March 3, 1894; May 11, July 20, 1895; press, February 25, 1888. Charles H. Parks, commissioned the first Catholic naval chaplain, April 25, 1888, offered Mass at the Navy Yard, November 3, 1889. William H. Reaney was appointed 1892, and John P. Chidwick, 1895.
50. *C R*, March 12, May 28, 1881. The Flushing *Daily Times* praised the Democratic Senator who voted against appropriations for the Catholic protectory (*C R*, April 13, 1882). In 1886, of 19 religious and private benevolent institutions receiving state or city land grants, 3 were Catholic. Of 147 such institutions receiving public funds, 20 were Catholic (Zwierlein, III, 318).

51. *Star*, June 6, 1860; *NYT*, June 16, 1860.

52. *BC*, June 4, 1869. When Congress appropriated \$25,000 to the Little Sisters of the Poor the *New York Observer* protested (*CR*, August 8, 1874). A Brooklyn newspaper proposed taxing Catholic churches (*CR*, February 9, 1884).

53. *CR*, August 14, 1875.

54. *CY*, October, 1883.

55. *Bk Cit*, November 27, 1887. The House of the Good Shepherd, St. Peter's Hospital, St. Vincent's Home, and St. Mary's Hospital received other small grants (Mulrenan, pp. 86, 94; Richard J. Gabel, *Public Funds for Church and Private Schools* (Washington, 1937), pp. 371, 588; Zwierlein, in *History of the State of New York*, IX, 189; *CR*, April 5, 1873; February 14, 1874; August 14, 1875; January 17, 1880; May 8, 1886).

56. *Annual Report, R C O A Society*, December 31, 1944.

57. Minutes, Board Directors, R C O A Society, 1868-1880; *CR*, June 6, 1874.

58. Expenses of the society in 1880 were \$111,467.16 (*CR*, April 30, 1881); 1885, \$205,224.85 (*CR*, May 8, 1886); 1891, \$184,129.23 (*CR*, April 30, 1892).

59. *Annual Reports, R C O A Society*.

60. *Bk Cit*, February 2, 1888; *CR*, January 18, 1881; January 27, 1894; *Standard Union*, February 2, 1888; press, 1891.

61. *BCKCR*, p. 130. In early years the society's net income ranged from \$3,000 to \$5,000; in modern times, from \$15,000 to \$25,000. The cost of administration remained about 2 per cent (*BDE*, February 21, 1857; Joseph F. Keany, *R.C.O.A. Society of Brooklyn 1830-1930* (Brooklyn, 1930), p. 8.

62. *Charter and By-Laws, Brooklyn Benevolent Society* (Brooklyn, 1857), p. 4.

63. *Metropolitan Record*, September 8, 1860.

64. *Star*, December 10, 1855; *Golden Jubilee, St. Vincent de Paul Society, 1855-1905* (Brooklyn, 1905). Cf. L. T. Jamme, "Historical Sketch of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul," *HRS*, V (1907), 198; Daniel T. McColgan, *A Century of Charity: The First Hundred Years of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the United States* (Milwaukee, 1951).

65. Occupations cited in Minute Book, Particular Council, St. Vincent de Paul Society (1857-1859).

66. Minutes, Particular Council, I, 5.

67. *CR*, August 23, November 12, 1892; *The Living Flame* (Brooklyn, 1935). The presidents of Brooklyn Council were James Smith, Richard Terнан, E. Louis Lowe, ex-Governor of Maryland, and Thomas W. Hynes (Edward J. McGuire, "The Catholic Bar of New York from 1808 to 1908," *HRS*, V [1907], 423; Andrew E. Eichmann, "Enoch Louis Lowe," *HRS*, I [1899], 141).

68. *NYT*, December 26, 1857. Loughlin's circular, to pastors, announcing the object and means of raising money for the orphanage, September 27, 1856 (ADB). The collection book of James Harper of St. Paul's records \$4,047.56 collected by him, October, 1856, to October, 1857 (ADB).

69. *NYT*, December 26, 1857; *Metropolitan*, IV (1856), 711; *FJ*, March 6, 1858.

70. *Star*, October 30, 1856; *NYT*, December 26, 1857.

71. *NYT*, June 19, 1858. It was three stories high, 125 feet long with two wings, 70 feet deep. Building and ground cost \$40,328, and all but \$11,000 was paid for (*Metropolitan*, March, 1857; Shea, in Stiles, III, 738; *FJ*, June 5, 19, 1858; *Star*, June 7, 1858; *CD*, 1859, 1861).

72. *NYT*, November 15, 22, 1862; *FJ*, November 15, 1862; *Star*, November 15, 1862; *BDE*, August 3, 1890. H. I. Hazelton, *The Boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens* (Chicago, 1925), III, 1161, and *Bk Cit*, November 27, 1887, say three boys died. Cf. Minutes, Board Directors, R C O A Society; *FJ*, July 22, 1865; *BCHS Records*, I, 46.

73. *FJ*, November 22, 1862. Richard O'Gorman also lectured for the asylum (*FJ*, December 6, 1862). Cf. *NYT*, November 29, 1862, for Protestant contributions.

74. *FJ*, July 22, 1865. Cf. Loughlin to Mother Teresa, November 5, 1868 (Archives, Sisters of St. Joseph, Brentwood); *BCHS Records*, I, 46. Keely designed the three-story building 174 by 168 feet. The cornerstone was laid November 5, 1865.

75. *CR*, June 30, 1877; *CD*, 1881.

76. The deaths reported ranged from 8 to 26 (*Cath Exam*, December 27, 1884; January 3, 1885; *Bk Cit*, April 27, 1887; *CR*, December 27, 1884; *The Eagle and Brooklyn* [Brooklyn, 1893], p. 167; *R.C.O.A. Society, 1830-1930* [Brooklyn, 1930], p. 10).

77. Number of personnel, etc., in 1891 for this and following communities were taken from *CD*, 1892, unless otherwise indicated.

78. *CR*, November 13, 1875; November 1, 1881; *Bk Cit*, November 27, 1887. Soon girls also were taken (*CD*, 1881).

79. Boylan, *op.cit.*, p. 126.

80. It cost \$10,000 (*CR*, August 22, 1885). *R.C.O.A. Society, 1830-1930*; *Bk Cit*, November 27, 1887.

81. The building cost over \$20,000 (Shea, in Stiles, III, 727; *Bk Cit*, November 27, 1887; *AQ*). *CD*, 1858, 1871.

82. *BDE*, August 9, 1871; Mulrenan, p. 58; *CR*, April 5, 1873; February 21, December 19, 1874; *Bk Cit*, November 27, 1887.

83. *FJ*, September 30, 1854.

84. *CR*, December 19, 1874.

85. *CR*, January 2, 1875.

86. *AQ*.

87. *FJ*, May 30, 1866; *BDE*, February 15, 1871; *CD*, 1892; *AQ*.

88. Sister Mary Josephine Gately, *The Sisters of Mercy, 1831 to 1930* (New York, 1931), p. 297; *CD*, 1881; *FJ*, February 25, 1871.

89. *CD*, 1865; *FJ*, June 30, 1866; *BC*, March 27, 1869. The Tailors' Union of Boston found women and children working in New York and Brooklyn "sweat shops" 90 hours weekly at 4-10 cents per hour (*CR*, August 10, 1889).

90. *Leaves from the Annals, Sisters of Mercy*, IV (1890), 539.

91. Eugene J. Crawford, *The Daughters of Dominic on Long Island* (New York, 1938), pp. 174 ff; *CD*, 1871; *BDE*, February 15, 1871.

92. *Bk Cit*, November 27, 1887.

93. Survey by B C H Society, MS. (A D B).

94. Crawford, *op.cit.*, p. 240.

95. Such girls and boys numbered thousands daily in New York (D. T. Lynch, *Boss Tweed*, p. 165, cited in Crawford, *op.cit.*, p. 233).

96. *Golden Jubilee, St. Vincent de Paul Society* (Brooklyn, 1905), p. 15; Minutes, Particular Council, October 20, 1865.

97. *B C*, October 21, 1869; *C R*, July 19, 1873; January 17, 1874; February 12, 1887; *Catholic American*, February 12, 1887; Stiles, III, 849.

98. *B C*, July 31, August 7, 21, 1869. It was called the first Catholic working boys home in America (Matthew P. Kelly, "The Society of St. Vincent de Paul in . . . Brooklyn," typescript master's dissertation (Washington, 1929); *B T*, October 13, 1945; *Journal, Diamond Jubilee, St. Vincent's Home* (Brooklyn, 1944).

99. *B D E*, August 2, 1869.

100. A third Sunday meal, washing, and mending were free (*B C*, October 20, 1869; January 15, 1870; *B D E*, March 9, 1871; *C R*, July 19, 1873; April 24, 1875). From October, 1869, to December, 1871, 354 were admitted, 89 remained (*C R*, July 27, 1872).

101. Expenses were \$3,506.89; receipts, \$3,650.30, of which Vincentian conferences gave \$1,631.04 (*Report, St. Vincent's Home*, 1888).

102. *C R*, February 26, 1881; *C Y*, March, 1882.

103. *C R*, January 8, 1876; *Bk Cit*, November 27, 1887; *R.C.O.A. Society, 1830-1930*, p. 12; *C D*, 1892. For Earle, cf. *C R*, May 30, 1896; *Portrait and Biographical Record of Queens County* (New York, 1896), p. 162.

104. *The Living Flame* (Brooklyn, 1935). The Institute of the Good Shepherd was founded by St. John Eudes in France, 1641. St. Mary Euphrasia Pelletier (1796-1868) founded the order of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd at Angers in 1835. This community came to the United States in 1848. It received penitents, voluntary or committed by civil or parental authority. Some took vows and lived as Magdalens. Children secured from danger and called preservates were also admitted.

105. *C N*, May 27, 1893.

106. *B C*, April 3, 1869.

107. MS. (January 9, 1872 [A D B]; *C R*, September 21, 1872). And a gift in 1869 of \$10,000 from the Legislature (Mulrenan, p. 86).

108. For \$3,500 annually (*C R*, September 21, 1872; October 3, 1874; May 22, 1893; *B D E*, March 4, 1871).

109. *C R*, May 14, 1887; *Catholic American*, May 7, 1887.

110. *C D*, 1871; *B D E*, February 15, 1871; *F J*, February 25, 1871.

111. *C R*, April 29, 1878.

112. Founded by Jeanne Jugan, Sister Mary of the Cross (1792-1879), at St. Servan, France, 1839. *A Century in the Service of the Aged Poor, 1839-1939* (France, 1939).

113. *B D E*, September 26, 1868; Meehan, "Andrew Parmentier, Horticulturalist, and His Daughter, Madame Bayer," *H R S*, III (1903), 447; *The Living Flame* (Brooklyn, 1935).

114. *N Y T*, November 2, 1868.

115. *B C*, October 28, November 4, 1869.

116. *B D E*, February 15, 1871; *F J*, February 25, 1871.

117. *B D E*, July 25, 1871; *C R*, June 8, 15, 1872.

118. There were 18 deaths and \$30,000 damage (*C R*, March 18, April 22, May 20, 1876).

119. *C R*, January 3, 1880.
120. Captain McCarter gave \$10,000 (*Bk Cit*, October 9, 1887; *Brooklyn Argus*, October 25, 1880; *C R*, November 4, 1882).
121. *C R*, June 20, 1874; *C Y*, October 10, 1886; *Bk Cit*, January 8, 1888; *C D*, 1875.
122. *C R*, January 1, 1881; *The Eagle and Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1893), p. 753. The boys went to Throgg's Neck Asylum (*Bk Cit*, January 8, 1888).
123. *C R*, April 30, 1887; June 22, 29, 1889; *B D E*, October 12, 1890.
124. Plunkett, Joliette, Quebec, to Loughlin, March 29, 1878 (A D B).
125. *C R*, March 28, April 4, 1885; July 3, 10, 1886; *C Y*, April, 1885.
126. *C R*, June 26, 1886. *C D*, 1892, fails to mention it.
127. Press, 1890; *C R*, January 4, 1890. The sisters who came from St. Clare's Home, West 15th Street, New York, soon left.
128. *B D E*, October 18, 1890; *C R*, July 5, 1890; A Q; *C D*, 1892.
129. Loughlin to Hughes, August 20, 1862 (A A N Y, A-12).
130. Minutes, Particular Council, I, 36, 38.
131. In 1858 Mother Frances Schervier (1819-1876) who founded the community at Aachen, Germany, was encouraged by Mrs. Sarah Peter of Cincinnati to make a foundation in that city (*F J*, September 25, 1858; *C R*, February 17, 1877). Cf. Ignatius Jailer, O.S.F., tr. by Bonaventure Hammer, O.S.F., *Venerable Frances Schervier* (3rd ed., St. Louis, 1924), pp. 273, 275, 300; Theodore Maynard, *Through My Gift* (New York, 1951); John H. Lamott, *History of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati* (New York, 1921); *Souvenir, Diamond Jubilee, St. Peter's Hospital* (Brooklyn, 1939); *Centenary Souvenir, 1845-1945* (Cincinnati, 1945); Anna S. McAllister, *In Winter We Flourish* (New York, 1939).
132. *B D E*, April 15, 1868; March 4, 1871; October 18, 1890; *C R*, September 7, 22, 1888; *The Eagle and Brooklyn*, p. 586.
133. *B C*, June 12, 1869; *C D*, 1871; *Handbill*, 1888 (A D B).
134. *C R*, June 30, August 18, September 22, 1888; January 18, 1890; *Bk Cit*, June 10, 1888.
135. *B C*, March 27, May 8, 1869; *B D E*, March 23, 1871. For Dr. John M. Byrne, cf. *Journal of St. Mary's Hospital* (Brooklyn, 1935); James J. Walsh, "Catholic Achievement in Medicine," *Catholic Builders of the Nation* (Boston, 1923), IV, 63.
136. *NY T*, April 8, 1871; A Q.
137. A Q; *C R*, October 19, 1889.
138. *C R*, October 25, 1879; December 23, 1882; October 26, 1889; April 12, 1890; *Bk Cit*, June 10, 1888; *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, October 29, 1881; *A Fifty Year History of St. Mary's Hospital* (Brooklyn, 1932); A Q.
139. Dr. G. R. Fowler performed Brooklyn's first appendectomy there, July 14, 1888 (*Journal of St. Mary's Hospital*, 1935). The first in New York was in 1886 (James J. Walsh, "History of Medicine in the State of New York," *Hist. State New York* [New York, 1937], X, 117).
140. Christine Sevier, *From Ratisbon Cloisters* (1917), p. 64; Crawford, *op.cit.*, p. 120.
141. *C R*, March 10, 1894; February 23, 1895; A Q; Crawford, *op.cit.*, p. 251.
142. Each cost \$150,000. *C R*, August 15, 1874; August 19, 1876; February 23, 1893; *B D E*, April 13, 1890; Crawford, *op.cit.*, p. 253.

143. *Souvenir, Golden Jubilee, St. John's Hospital* (Brooklyn, 1941); A Q; C R, August 16, 1890.

144. By 1893 Brooklyn Diocese cared for 3,750 orphans. The archdioceses of New York cared for 2,514; Philadelphia, 1,759; Baltimore, 1,600 (B D E, April 26, 1894; C R, May 5, 1894).

145. B T, special number, September, 1933.

CHAPTER XIII

1. C D, 1859; B C, May 22, October 7, 1869. Dr. McGlynn requested Corrigan's permission for Sunday and Holyday Mass at 12 or at 1, the European custom (McGlynn to Corrigan, March 11, 1886 [A A N Y, C-10]).

2. C R, February 22, May 30, 1890; February 14, 1891.

3. C R, September 16, 1882.

4. While the Holy Trinity Guard of Honor served with the 28th Regiment in the Civil War, the Holy Trinity Union Military Guard was organized. The parishes of St. Nicholas, St. Leonard, Sorrowful Mother, and St. Benedict had rifle companies (*Official Souvenir, 28th Annual Convention, Catholic State League of New York* [Brooklyn, 1925], p. 91). St. Peter's Independence Guard was formed in St. Benedict's parish in 1869 to honor God by ecclesiastical parades and visiting sick members (*Constitution* [A D B]).

5. F J, November 4, 1854; December 11, 1858; *Metropolitan*, II (1854), 704; C R, October 23, 1875; December 17, 1881.

6. C R, June 27, 1874; Father Peter Kearney, Riverhead, to Bishop Loughlin, April 13, 1874 (A D B). It was first celebrated at Visitation Convent in February, 1873 (C R, February 15, April 12, 1873).

7. Father John A. McCullum of Sacred Heart parish and some Brooklyn laity were on the first, which sailed May 16, 1874; several Brooklyn priests left on the second, April 21, 1877 (C R, May 23, July 25, 1874; January 9, 1875; Benjamin J. Kieley, "The First American Pilgrimage to Rome," *H R S*, III (1903), 462; Meehan, "Pilgrimages to Rome and Lourdes," *America*, XLIX (August 19, 1933), 463-465.

8. 800 monthly at Assumption (F J, August 25, 1855); 1,000 of 1,500 Holy Cross parishioners received between Christmas and New Year's (B D E, January 4, 1871).

9. F J, May 28, 1854; May 5, 1855; N Y T, July 9, 1859; B C, September 23, October 7, 1869; C R, March 1, April 26, 1873; March 21, 1874. At St. Monica's the boys wore red rosettes; the girls, white veils and lily wreaths (B C, June 19, 1869). At St. Malachy's boys wore blue, girls had white veils and blue sashes (N Y T, December 24, 1870). Bishop Bacon at Assumption confirmed 330 children and 12 adults. Many received First Holy Communion at the Mass following. In the evening the children with lighted tapers renewed baptismal vows (F J, May 5, 1855).

10. F J, November 7, December 12, 1857; January 16, 30, 1858; N Y T, December 12, 1857; October 1, 1859.

11. Sag Harbor *Corrector*, October 27, 1861; Sag Harbor *Express*, December 5, 1861; N Y T, December 8, 1861.

12. F J, September 21, 1853; February 16, 1856; November 7, December 7, 1857; January 16, 1858; January 17, 1863; January 30, 1869; N Y T, No-

vember 21, December 12, 1857; January 30, July 3, 1858; October 1, 1859; March 16, 23, 1861; February 1, 1862; *B C*, May 1, 22, 1869; *B D E*, January 9, February 2, 1871; *Metropolitan*, IV (1856), 134.

13. *C R*, May 17, 1873.

14. *F J*, March 15, September 30, 1854.

15. Minutes, Particular Council, St. Vincent de Paul Society, I.

16. *N Y T*, November 14, 1857; *F J*, February 16, 1856; June 19, 1858; *Annual Reports, St. Vincent de Paul Society*.

17. *F J*, September 8, 22, 1855; February 2, 1856.

18. St. Paul's had 2,000 Rosarians (*C R*, May 15, 1875). *C D*, 1854 et seq.

19. *B C*, May 8, June 12, July 24, 1869; *B D E*, May 16, 1870; *N Y T*, December 24, 1870.

20. Annals, Monastery of the Visitation. Cf. Daniel A. Lord, S.J., "Sociality Moves Apace with Needs of the Times," *America*, LXI (September 23, 1939), 558-560.

21. *C R*, February 28, 1880; February 28, 1891; October 23, 1897. The first American Society was organized by Father Charles Nerinckx at Harden's Creek, Ky., 1809. Cf. Meehan, "Apropos of the Holy Name Convention," *America*, XXI (September 6, 1924), 490.

22. *C R*, November 15, 29, December 13, 20, 1873; December 12, 1874; June 19, 1875; February 2, 1884; March 15, November 29, 1884. Cf. *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, I (1884), 473; *A A N Y*, C-13; John Gilmary Shea, *Catholic Churches of New York City* (New York, 1878), pp. 75 ff.

23. Annals, Monastery of the Visitation. Cf. "The Guard of Honor of the Sacred Heart of Jesus," *Messenger of the Sacred Heart*, I (October, 1884), 473.

24. *C R*, February 13, 1886.

25. *A Q*; *Golden Jubilee Notes* (1911); *B D E*, April 24, 1892; *A A N Y*, C-26; *B T*, July 10, 1943; *C R*, December 14, 1889; May 3, 10, 1890; *C N*, May 3, 1890.

26. *C R*, February 7, 1891.

27. *B C*, September 23, 1869. The Father Mathew Total Abstinence Beneficial Society No. 7 on Kent Avenue had a cooperative grocery and dramatic and literary classes (*Irish American*, January 18, 1890). Its Ladies Auxiliary was interested in a Catholic hospital (*B D E*, August 4, 11, 1871). When Society No. 4 first met at No. 20 engine house, Fulton Street between Adelphi and Clermont Avenues, "an immense concourse of both sexes tried to gain admission" (*B C*, September 23, 1869).

28. *B C*, September 23, 1869. Cf. *F J*, April 2, 1864; *B D E*, October 12, 1868; *B C*, March 27, 1869; *C R*, March 22, 1873.

29. *C R*, June 19, 1875.

30. *B C*, March 27, 1869. Cf. *B C*, March 26, 1870; *C R*, March 22, 1873; March 27, 1875.

31. Sag Harbor *Corrector*, March 22, 1862.

32. *C R*, July 27, October 12, 1872; May 31, October 18, 1873; March 21, 1874; June 12, 1875; August 11, 1883; September 15, 1888.

33. *C R*, March 26, 1881; October 6, 1883. Half the Brooklyn arrests in 1881 were for intoxication (*C R*, March 26, May 21, 1881. Cf. October 6, 1883; February 9, August 23, 1884; January 17, 1885; June 21, 1890). Long

Island City had the highest percentage of saloons in the United States (*C R*, January 15, 1898).

34. Fathers Fransioli, O'Hare, and Donohoe. Cf. *C R*, April 30, 1887; April 27, 1889; March 7, April 17, October 17, 1891; February 20, 1892; *F J*, October 25, 1890; *Bk Cit*, April 10, 1887; *B D E*, April 5, 1870.

35. Michael J. Slattery, "Fraternal Societies of the Laity," *Catholic Builders of the Nation* (Boston, 1923), II, 318. It had 30,000 members in 1881 (*C R*, August 20, 1881). Cf. *C R*, August 23, 1884.

36. Sag Harbor *Corrector*, March 22, May 10, 1862; *B C*, November 18, December 11, 1869; March 26, 1870; *B D E*, January 14, 1868; July 10, August 11, 1871.

37. *C R*, September 14, 21, 1878; March 13, 1880; October 16, 1886; *B D E*, October 12, 1890.

38. *F J*, April 2, 1859; Society for the Propagation of the Faith to Loughlin, October 21, 1859 (*A A N Y*, A-14). Cf. *A A N Y*, A-12, 19; *B C*, June 19, 1869.

39. *C R*, August 16, December 13, 1879. Cf. December 2, 1876; May 30, 1885; March 31, 1893; Society for the Propagation of the Faith to Loughlin, January 29, 1884 (*A D B*).

40. Giving \$1,879.75 (*C R*, October 16, 19, 1889; March 8, 1890).

41. Giving \$4,876.53 in 1887 (*C R*, August 6, 1887; February 4, 1888; August 27, 1892).

42. Society for the Propagation of the Faith to Loughlin, March 19, June 30, 1857; October 21, 1859 (*A A N Y*, A-14). Cf. *Annals, Ludwig Missionsverein*, XXV (1857), 597; XXVIII (1860), 521 (kindness of Father Willibald Matheser, O.S.B., Munich, to author, March 7, 1939).

43. Society for the Propagation of the Faith to Loughlin, October 21, 1867; May 14, 1868 (*A A N Y*, A-14); Loughlin to Silas Chatard, rector, North American College, Rome, June 8, 1868; May 6, 1871 (*A U N D*); Edward J. Hickey, *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith* (Washington, 1922), p. 188.

44. Keller and his Bavarian associates, in Texas from 1852 to 1858, were aided by the LMV. Keller left Texas against Bishop Odin's wishes. Because of this and his failure to specify more exactly the objects of his requests, his pleas for Brooklyn help were not heeded (Matheser, to author). Cf. Theodore Roemer, *The Ludwig Missionsverein and the Church in the United States, 1838-1918* (New York, 1933), pp. 80 f; Idem, *Ten Decades of Alms* (St. Louis, 1942), pp. 136, 140, 148, 154, 250. Keller was in Brooklyn, 1854 to mid-1858, probably at St. Francis in the Fields and helped establish St. Benedict and St. Boniface parishes.

45. Unless otherwise indicated these and subsequent LMV letters are from the Archives of the LMV, Munich, Act. Brooklyn $\frac{2}{6}$ (Willibald Matheser, O.S.B., to author).

46. *Annals, LMV*, XXVII (1859), 458. Huber was pastor of St. Fidelis, College Point, 1856 to 1889.

47. *Annals, LMV*, XXVIII (1860), 532; LMV to Loughlin, November 15, 1860 (*A D B*).

48. Willibald Matheser, O.S.B., *Der Ludwig Missionsverein in der Zeit König Ludwig von Bayern* (Munich, 1939), pp. 285, 305, 307, 333; Roemer,

op.cit., pp. 104, 133, 135; Eugene J. Crawford, *The Daughters of Dominic on Long Island* (New York, 1938), pp. 72, 76.

49. *Annals, LMV, XXXIX* (1864), 39. Huber stated he was "mindful of the many kindnesses received from Vienna."

50. *C Y*, April, 1884. Cf. *C R*, September 5, 1885; May 12, 1888. Pastors were urged to transfer their mortgages to banks asking less than 6 per cent interest (*C R*, January 9, 1886). At SS. Peter and Paul's annual expenses in 1858 were \$12,823.95; receipts, \$6,877.45 (*Star*, December 11, 1858). St. Nicholas' listed for 1879, \$4,985.21 received, \$4,841.20 spent; Visitation in 1893 received \$27,361.32 (*A D B*).

51. *F J*, May 21, 1854; August 8, 1857; *N Y T*, August 8, 1857; *B C*, September 11, 1869; Committee letter, June 14, 1879, to Loughlin (*A D B*).

52. *F J*, February 27, 1858. St. James' and St. Charles' soon abolished an annual fee of \$1.00. *Star of the Sea* in 1872 had 1,100 books; St. Peter's had 3,000 in 1869 (*F J*, April 28, 1855; November 27, 1857; *B C*, July 17, 1869; *C R*, April 20, June 8, 1872).

53. *Metropolitan Record* (New York), March 10, 1860; *N Y T*, November 12, 1859; March 17, 1860; September 7, 1861; *Star*, November 28, 1859; *B D E*, July 2, 1863; January 8, 1868; *F J*, December 6, 1862; Stiles, III, 905. Dr. J. V. Huntington, Enoch Lowe, ex-Governor of Maryland, and Judge Bernard Hughes were favorite lecturers. For William Cahill, cf. F. E. Tourscher, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence, 1830-1862* (Lancaster, 1920), pp. 440-442, 444.

54. *C R*, January 18, 1890; press, 1891; *B D E*, May 17, 1892. George E. O'Hara began five such circles (John M. Sheridan to author, April 1, 1946). Cf. *B D E*, March 19, 1893.

55. *F J*, February 19, August 29, September 2, 1854; *B C K C R*, p. 104; *Souvenir, Dedication, McCaddin Memorial* (Brooklyn, 1898), p. 44; *Memorial, Golden Jubilee, Rev. Sylvester Malone* (Brooklyn, 1895), p. 23; Stiles, II, 300.

56. It met weekly at City Academy, Court and Joralemon Streets (*F J*, March 15, September 30, 1854; *B C K C R*, p. 103).

57. *F J*, May 1, 1858.

58. *B D E*, March 25, 1871; *C R*, April 20, 1872.

59. *Cath Exam*, October 6, 1883; *C R*, September 18, 1886.

60. *C R*, March 20, April 10, 1886; March 29, 1890.

61. *B D E*, July 2, 1863; *C R*, February 15, 1871; April 20, 1872; March 15, September 20, 1873. Father Mitchell was a national officer for years (*C R*, February 27, 1875; July 2, 1881; May 20, 1882; January 6, June 27, July 7, 1883; November 16, 23, 1889; October 18, 1890; April 11, 18, July 11, 1891; May 20, 1893).

62. *St. Mary's Guild, Confraternity of the Holy Cross, Brooklyn, 1858*, pamphlet (*A D B*).

63. *B C*, April 3, June 4, 1869. Cf. *C R*, May 26, 1883.

64. *Eagle Almanac* (Brooklyn, 1892), pp. 131 ff. Cf. Fergus Macdonald, C.P., *The Catholic Church and the Secret Societies in the United States* (New York, 1946).

65. *Cath Exam*, October 6, 1883; *C R*, June 19, 1886; *Eagle Almanac* (1892); *B T*, April 21, 1917.

66. *C R*, February 4, August 5, 1882; August 25, 1883; *Record, Catholic Benevolent Legion*, November, 1882; December, 1884; May, 1885; November,

1886; July, 1887; *Cath Exam*, October 6, 1883; *C R*, November 20, 1886; May 2, 1887; *Eagle Almanac* (1892); *B T*, December 19, 1908; April 21, 1917; November 23, 1940.

67. S. D. Cronin of Connecticut organized it. W. H. Meagher was first Grand Knight (*Year Book, Long Island Chapter* [1938], p. 51).

68. *C R*, April 20, 1872; November 25, 1882; March 13, 1886; April 18, 1891; press, 1892. Loyola Union formed in April, 1882, was a fashionable social club of the Eastern District (*B D E*, October, 1886).

69. *F J*, May 19, June 16, 1855; *B D E*, June 11, 1855; *Star*, June 11, 1855. Holy Cross pastors supervised the cemetery through P. H. Curran, 1853-1879, and his son, William H. Curran (*F J*, December 10, 1864). Cf. *The Eagle and Brooklyn* (1893), p. 360. Burials at Greenwood Cemetery continued (*B D E*, April 20, 1871).

70. Meehan, III, 532; W. O'Gorman, "Newtown Records" (Jamaica, 1934), p. 221, typescript, Queensboro Public Library.

71. *F J*, January 29, March 19, 1859; May 27, 1865; *C R*, July 13, 1875. Caskets were sometimes opened after Mass to view the remains (*B D E*, February 21, 1871). Elaborate floral pieces in the sanctuary were reported at a priest's funeral (*B D E*, January 21, 1895). Father Mitchell called Father O'Beirne's burial in 1888 in Mount St. Mary's Cemetery, rather than in the priests' plot at Holy Cross, an exception to the rule.

72. *B D E*, January 23, 1868; January 31, 1870. Francis W. Kervick, University of Notre Dame, to author, February 19, 1947, remembers reading of 400 carriages at Mrs. P. C. Keeley's funeral but their family tradition says 250.

73. Cf. Meehan, "Periodical Literature," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 692-696; Idem, "Centenary of American Catholic Fiction," *H R S*, XIX (1929), 52-72; Idem, "The First Catholic Monthly Magazines," *H R S*, XXXI (1940), 137-144; Smith, II, 521 ff; John B. Sheerin, C.S.P., "The Development of the Catholic Magazine in the History of American Journalism," *H R S*, XLI (1953), 5-14; William L. Lucey, S.J., "Catholic Magazines, 1865-1900," *A C H S Records*, LXIII (March, June, September, December, 1952).

74. Most Rev. Francis X. Ford, Bishop of Kaying, who died in a Chinese Communist prison in 1952, was a nephew of Patrick Ford.

75. *F J*, May 16, 1863; Smith, I, 257; II, 395; "An Enthusiastic Brooklynite's Complaint," *America*, XXIII (1920), 351; Sister Mary Canisius Minahan, C.S.C., "James A. McMaster: A Pioneer Catholic Journalist," *A C H S Records*, XLVII (June, 1936), 87-131; cf. XLV (1938), 1-21; Maurice F. Egan, "A Slight Appreciation of James Alphonsus McMaster," *H R S*, XV (1921), 7-19; Meehan, "The First Catholic Monthly Magazines," *H R S*, XXXI (1940), 142.

76. *C R*, January 15, 1887. Of his three daughters, Mary entered the Congregation of the Holy Childhood, 1877; Helen and Gertrude, the Baltimore Carmel, 1882 and 1884, respectively. Helen, as Sister Teresa of Jesus, established the Brooklyn Carmel in 1907. Correspondence between father and daughters is in A U N D. His son, Alphonsus, joined the Redemptorists (Egan, *op.cit.*, p. 9). The Fords bought the paper in 1888. From 1894 until 1910 Father Louis A. Lambert of New Jersey edited it. During World War I the paper under A. Brendan Ford again displeased the government and ceased to exist (Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., *Pioneer Catholic Journalism* [New York,

1930], pp. 202-209). Complete files are at Catholic University; office files, at AUND.

77. The first English Catholic paper may have been a parish periodical sponsored by Fransioli of St. Peter's (*FJ*, December 13, 1862; *BDE*, March 4, 1871).

78. Fitzpatrick, born in Newtown, February 18, 1840; ordained, North American College, Rome, May 21, 1864; stationed at St. Patrick's, Kent Avenue, became its pastor, 1867; died, 1872. Dr. Gardiner [Gardner], born in Brooklyn, 1841; ordained with Fitzpatrick; theologian to Loughlin at Second Plenary and Vatican Councils; curate at St. James' until death, December 12, 1871. His brother, Francis, ordained 1872, died 1873 at Our Lady of Victory (*BC*, October 21, 1869; *BDE*, March 25, 1871).

79. *BC*, February 20, May 1, 1869; Minutes, Particular Council, St. Vincent de Paul Society, February 14, 1869, I, 435.

80. *BC*, July 3, December 25, 1869. Its files are at St. John's University.

81. It was friendly to McGlynn and Malone, the latter praising it (*BDE*, May 7, 1870). Its files are in AGU, 79.11.

82. Son of Michael Hickey, a distinguished Irish educator, he was born in Dublin, February 14, 1846; entered Maynooth, left for New York, 1866. In 1872 he married Agnes Kavanagh, daughter of James W. Kavanagh, professor at Catholic University, Dublin. Hickey lived in Brooklyn and had a distinguished family. His widow died in Flatbush, February 4, 1939.

83. Kindness of Hickey family.

84. *CR*, June 8, 15, October 19, 1872; April 20, 1878. Hickey had his printing plant at 220 Pearl Street, Brooklyn, and offices at 371 Fulton Street, Brooklyn, and in New York at 34 Park Row, then at 47 Barclay Street. He did his own typesetting; his sister ran his office. For files of the paper, cf. *infra*, Chap. XXIII, fn. 79.

85. *CR*, July 3, 1875.

86. *CR*, January 10, 1880. Cf. Maurice Francis Egan, *Recollections of a Happy Life* (New York, 1924), pp. 118 f.

87. J. M. Kiely to J. W. Kavanagh, Dublin, September 30, 1884 (ADB); Ella B. Edes, Rome, to Loughlin, December 4, 1882 (ADB). Hickey was the second Brooklyn recipient of the Laetare Medal (*CR*, April 7, 1888).

88. *CR*, March 9, 1889. Cf. Smith, II, 522.

89. *Records, Catholic Benevolent Legion*, January, February, 1889.

90. *CR*, April 20, 1889.

91. Corrigan to Gibbons, May 16, 1887 (copy in AANY, C-16). Meehan, in *Bk Cit*, July 3, 1887; *BT*, April 21, 1917.

92. *BT*, April 21, 1917; April 28, 1928. *Examiner* and *Leader* files are at *Brooklyn Tablet* office.

93. *CR*, January 29, March 12, May 7, 1881; February 25, 1882; April 7, 1883; October 9, 1886. Its files are at Immaculate Conception Seminary, Huntington. McCabe, born, Brooklyn, 1853; ordained, 1877; pastor of Visitation, 1889-1892. Cf. William L. Lucey, S.J., "Catholic Magazines, 1880-1890," *ACHS Records*, LXIII (June, 1952), 64 ff.

94. Stiles, III, 941. Shea, IV, 495, cites *Der Apologet* of July 24, 1862.

95. Born in Bavaria, April 27, 1811; became a Lutheran minister; came to New York, 1837; became a Catholic, 1840 (*N. Y. Catholic Register*, March 19, 1840). Taught at St. John's College, Fordham; went to Cincinnati and

edited the weekly *Wahrheitsfreund*, the first German Catholic paper in the United States; founded and edited the weekly *Katholische Kirchen Zeitung* in Baltimore, 1846. Moved the paper to New York, 1851; made a Knight of St. Gregory, 1875; died, 1882. Cf. *C R*, September 2, 1882; Meehan "John J. M. Oertel," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 215; *C N*, April 18, 1908; June 24, 1939; Charles G. Herbermann, "John J. M. Oertel," *H R S*, IV (1906), 139-144; *B T*, April 21, 1917; Shea, III, 521.

96. Father Michael May's Journal, 1872, cited, *B T*, April 21, 1917.

97. *B T*, April 21, 1917.

98. *C R*, March 5, May 7, 1881; April 7, 1883.

99. *C R*, June 8, 1872.

100. Born, New York, 1815; taught at St. Paul's Episcopal School, Flushing, 1838-1841; died, 1862; edited the *Metropolitan Catholic Record*; wrote *Gropings after Truth*, *Alban*, *The Forest*, and *Pretty Plate*; and lectured often in Brooklyn and elsewhere. F. E. Tourscher, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence* (Lancaster, 1920), p. 333, fn. 1; Murray, p. 513; Shea, IV, 120, 381; Smith, I, 254; James J. Walsh, "Dr. J. V. Huntington and the Oxford Movement in America," *A C H S Records*, XVI (1905), 241-267, 416-442.

101. Murray, p. 504; Henry DeCourcy and John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (2nd ed., New York, 1879), p. 489. Obituary in *C R*, August 23, 1873.

102. There are a few references to Brooklyn Catholicism in Bayley, in the works (*supra*, Chap. I) of O'Callaghan, and in Shea. Shea wrote the section "Catholic Churches and Institutions in Brooklyn," in Stiles, III, 724-741. The *NYT* first carried the articles in August, 1869. Stiles acknowledged his debt to O'Callaghan and Shea. O'Callaghan moved to Brooklyn in 1870 and died in New York in 1880. Cf. James J. Walsh, "Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan," *A C H S Records*, XVI (1905), 5-33; Murray, p. 500; F. S. Guy, "Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan," typescript doctorate dissertation, Catholic University (Washington, 1934); John T. Driscoll, "Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 194. For Shea, cf. Marc F. Vallette, "John Gilmary Shea," *H R S*, I (1899), 130-140; Peter Guilday, "John Gilmary Shea," *H R S*, XVII (1926), 7-171.

103. It is duodecimo, has eight chapters covering 129 pages. The title page calls Mulrenan, "Professor of Rhetoric, Literature and Languages in St. Francis College, Brooklyn; twice first classical scholar and twice successful competitor for the Limerick Scholarship for English language, literature and history in the Catholic University of Ireland." According to Brother Columba, O.S.F., to author, June 29, 1942, the records of St. Francis College, which begin in 1876, do not mention him.

104. For Shea's unfavorable and Guilday's favorable opinions, see Guilday, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-50. Bishop Loughlin's name is not among the 17 illustrious prelates recommending the work. Murray, born in Ireland, 1847; educated at Fordham; graduated in medicine, University of the City of New York; practised in Brooklyn until about 1884; became tubercular; died in Chicago, 1885.

CHAPTER XIV

1. *CD*, 1859.
2. To Woodlock, October 15, 1858; March 11, June 5, 1859; Archives, All Hallows College. (These and other transcripts kindly furnished by Rev. William P. O'Keeffe, C.M., All Hallows College. Maynooth and Carlow had no data.) To Dubreul, Archives, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, 1868.
3. Monsignor J. De Neve, American College, Louvain, to Loughlin, 1864, 1883 (*AD B*).
4. Three abandoned studies; T. Gardiner lived less than seven years as a priest; F. Gardiner, less than one; Fitzpatrick, six; Raber, 17; Henry Zimmer, 48; and Thomas Reid gave five years' service, became a Jesuit, and lived 49 years more.
5. Loughlin to Dr. Thomas Bennett, All Hallows College, May 9, 1864; January 16, 1865; Loughlin to Dr. William Fortune, All Hallows College, February 8, June 15, 1867 (Archives, All Hallows College). Loughlin to Dubreul, October 15, 1868 (Archives, St. Mary's Seminary).
6. Nicholas Balleis, O.S.B., at St. Francis in the Fields sent \$45 for it, April 14, 1875 (*AD B*).
7. Father O. L. Jenkins, S.S., of St. Charles College, Maryland, wrote him, February 10, 1855, he would receive two boys the bishop proposed to send (*AD B*).
8. H. J. S., in press. Photographs in *BDE*, June 7, 1914; the anniversary publications, Holy Trinity Parish; and Meehan, "Rev. Johann Stephan Raffener, V.G.," *HRS*, IX (1916), 162.
9. The following excerpts give the first precise knowledge of the project. Transcripts kindly furnished author from the Archives of the LMV, Munich, Act. Brooklyn $\frac{2}{6}$, by Willibald Matheser, O.S.B. Cf. John K. Sharp, "Brooklyn's First Preparatory Seminary," *HRS*, XXXVII (1947), 102-110.
10. The personnel are not identifiable. Aloysius Enders, just ordained and then at St. Francis' (*BD*, 1856-1857), may be the secular. Brunemann, the second Franciscan to arrive in Brooklyn, took charge of St. Boniface's in 1854 and then of Sag Harbor. O'Byrne may have been a student lately gone from Brooklyn to Würzburg.
11. Possibly before November 11, 1858, when Huber wrote the LMV he was caring for three parishes (*supra*). The *CD*, 1859, places no one at St. Francis'; the *BD*, 1858-1859, locates Enders there.
12. Born, August, 1845; entered the North American College, Rome, October, 1866; ordained, March, 1871; assisted at All Saints; founder-pastor of St. Leonard of Port Maurice, 1872; died, 1888 (*BDE*, April 13, 1890; press, September 21, 1891). There were seven or eight boarders (Meehan, *op.cit.*, p. 172; Sister Mary Benedict, O.P., "Father John Stephen Raffener. The Patriarch of German Missionaries," typescript master's dissertation, St. John's College [Brooklyn, 1940]).
13. It is impossible to distinguish between students he sent to seminaries and students he adopted after they entered seminaries. Most of the All Hallows men were in the latter category. Few records or letters remain from Loughlin's regime. Bishop McDonnell wrote Archbishop Corrigan, September 20, 1896, "I have not been able to find any record of any ordination by

the late bishop though many priests were ordained by him" (A A N Y, G-23). For biographical data, the author has relied upon his *Priests and Parishes of the Diocese of Brooklyn, 1820-1944*, compiled from many sources.

14. Fathers Phelan in 1857, and O'Mullane in 1859.

15. Many professors were foreigners; their use of his permission to collect funds displeased him. Their superior upheld the bishop (A A N Y, A-19). It was "a conflict of jurisdiction" (John Cardinal Farley, *The Life of John Cardinal McCloskey* [New York, 1918], pp. 246, 261). Differences arose over the transfer of the college property (Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., "Fordham's Jesuit Beginnings," *Thought*, XVI [March, 1941], 17). Sylvester Malone, "Progress of Catholicity in New York," *Catholic World* (May, 1898), p. 154, wrote that the Maynooth authorities offered to staff Hughes' seminary but he felt he could not furnish suitable living conditions.

16. Part-time professors, two scandals, and the Civil War were the causes (Francis P. Havey, S.S., Notes, given author).

17. John McCloskey to E. P. MacFarland of Hartford, September 28, 1864 (A U N D). Cf. *B T*, September 27, 1930. The Sulpicians declined Hughes' offer of it, fearing to weaken Montreal or Baltimore (Havey). Sylvester Malone, *op.cit.*, said the Maynooth authorities declined it. Only six of New York's nine sees—New York, Boston, Hartford, Portland, Burlington, and Albany—used it. Newark and Buffalo had their own seminaries.

18. Diary, Archives, Diocese of Buffalo, August 7, 1863.

19. A U N D.

20. Henry Gabriels, *Historical Sketch of St. Joseph's Provincial Seminary, Troy, New York* (New York, 1905), p. 47. In 1896 Troy closed, after 1,036 students had entered for more than 16 dioceses, and St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, opened under five Sulpician and four diocesan priests. Arthur J. Scanlan, *St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, New York, 1896-1921* (New York, 1922).

21. Stephen Cassidy, ordained 1857, was the first (*Memorial Volume of the Centenary of St. Mary's Seminary of St. Sulpice* [Baltimore, 1891], p. 54).

22. Thomas F. McGivern came first (Mary F. Meline and E. F. X. McSweeney, *The Story of the Mountain*, II [Emmitsburg, 1911], pp. 421 ff).

23. \$1,250 was collected among the alumni, January, 1881 (Corrigan to McQuaid, in A D R); Loughlin to Corrigan, January 10, 1880 (A A N Y, C-2). Cf. Zwierlein, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, 1946), pp. 29-30. For the 1882 Brooklyn collection, cf. A D B.

24. *C R*, January 15, 1881. This story is told in detail, apparently in Hill's own words, by William H. Tole, *A Memorial of St. Paul's Church* (Newburgh, 1888), pp. 11-19 and in Ross, II, 340-341. Cf. Meline-McSweeney, *op.cit.*, II, 178-179. For some of the correspondence in the case, cf. John McCaffrey to Corrigan, January 4, 1881 (A A N Y, A-5). Cf. also Hill to Corrigan, January 13, 1881 (A A N Y, C-1); Loughlin to McCloskey, March 10, 1881 (A A N Y, A-22); Loughlin to Corrigan, January 10, 1880 (A A N Y, C-2); Corrigan to Loughlin, January 5, April 12, September 14, 1881 (A A N Y, C-2); Corrigan to McQuaid, January, 1881 (A D R). Ellis, I, 182-184, cites some of the Gibbons' correspondence.

25. Thomas J. Fitzgerald, professor at the Mount, 1876-1880; vice-president, 1880 to 1882; entered the diocese, 1882; died as pastor of St. Gabriel's

in 1923. William L. O'Hara, professor, 1887-1897; president, 1897 to 1905; came to Brooklyn, 1906; died, 1916, as pastor of St. Bartholomew's. Bernard J. Bradley served at Transfiguration, 1892, was professor until 1911 and president until death, 1936.

26. Arthur J. Dorris came first, 1862 (Index of the College of Our Lady of Angels, April, 1894, cited in press, May, 1894; transcripts from Ordinands from Niagara and Catalogue of Students (Archives, Seminary of Our Lady of Angels, kindly furnished by George M. Driscoll). In a disastrous fire, December 5, 1864, Thomas Hopkins, a cleric from Brooklyn, was "burned to death saving goods of the Seminary" (Catalogue).

27. Lynch became coadjutor, 1859, and Archbishop of Toronto, 1870 (cf. *B T*, November 25, 1939).

28. Edward [John, James] Maginnis [McGuinness, McGinnis], ordained from the Mount, 1837; baptized at St. James', January to May, 1847. Labored out of Jamaica on eastern Long Island. Recorded baptisms at St. James', January to April, 1855. First resident pastor of Star of the Sea, Brooklyn; baptized there, April 17, October 19, 1855. The *CD* which, like the other old records, variously spells him, reported him at Star of the Sea, 1856-1857. From 1859 to 1861 it notes he is a member of the seminary faculty (*Cath Exam*, June 19, 1886; press, February 13, 1887; J. P. McKey, C.M., *History of Niagara University, 1856-1931* [Buffalo, 1931], pp. 122-125; *History of the Seminary of Our Lady of Angels, 1856-1906* [Buffalo, 1906], p. 16).

29. John Hauptman was the first. Raffaeiner established a \$3,000 scholarship there (Sister Mary Benedict, O.P., *op.cit.*).

30. James McEnroe and Robert Maguire, 1858, were first. There was some feeling, seemingly unjustified, against "undue" All Hallows' influence. Cf. *F J*, March 1, 1890; *B D E*, June 20, 1890; ten letters to Corrigan, 1885-1887, from John J. Loughran, Sr., and Jr. (A A N Y, C-10).

31. John R. McKenna came first, 1854.

32. Joseph A. Hauber, 1867; and Albert M. Hork, 1884 (J. DeNeve, rector, to Loughlin, July 19, 1885 [A D B]).

33. Loughlin to Hughes, January 26, 1856 (A A N Y, A-12). Loughlin sent \$2,347.46, 1858-1859, St. Joseph's contributing \$392.46 and St. Fidelis', \$4.03 (A A N Y, A-12, 14, 19; *F J*, April 21, 1859). Answering the appeal of 1868, Brooklyn sent \$12,000 (*B C*, June 19, 1869); Philadelphia gave \$16,920 of \$150,000 collected in the states. Cletus J. Benjamin, "Philadelphia and the North American College, Rome," *A C H S Records* (December, 1944), p. 305. Archbishop Hughes at first opposed such a college (F. E. Tourscher, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence* [Lancaster, 1920], p. 362, F.P.K. to P.R., January 21, 1854).

34. Loughlin to Hughes, July, September 3, 1859 (A A N Y, A-12).

35. Thomas J. Gardiner and Edward G. Fitzpatrick were the first ordained, 1864 (Henry A. Brann, *History of the American College, . . . Rome* [New York, 1910]). For correspondence on the seminarians, cf. Loughlin to S. F. Chatard, October 14, 1870; May 6, 1871; September 27, December 30, 1872; April 5, 1874 (A U N D).

36. Francis J. Freel, 1859; Joseph P. O'Connell, arrived 1872; James J. Corrigan and James H. Lynch in 1891.

37. Walter H. Mansfield came about 1889. Francis A. McCartney, William J. Donaldson, and Thomas J. Baxter, ordained 1891.

38. Press, March 1, 6, 1890; July 26, 1891; *B D E*, March 11, 1892.

39. May to Loughlin, October 2, 1888 (A D B). It was to be finished October 18, 1890. Cf. *Diamond Jubilee, St. John's University* (Brooklyn, 1945), p. 24.

40. Parishes were assessed \$54,000, payable June, 1889, to September, 1890 (A D B); *C R*, September 21, 1889; August 29, 1891.

41. *C R*, June 1, 1889; August 8, 1891; *B D E*, September 7, 1890. Keely was architect.

42. *Bk Cit*, September 21, 1891; *C R*, October 3, 1891.

43. *A C H S Researches* (October, 1901), pp. 103, 104. The practice remained with Cardinal McCloskey until his death, 1885, and nearly as late at the Mount (Meline-McSweeney, *op.cit.*, I, 72). More than a decade later, Bishop McQuaid was complaining to Propaganda about "Rev. Mr. Malone" (Zwierlein, III, 105, 217, *passim*).

44. Bayley (1870), p. 84; *Memorial, Golden Jubilee, Rev. Sylvester Malone* (Brooklyn, 1895), p. 44.

45. *C R*, September 8, 1883.

46. *Decreta Synodi Brooklynensis Secundæ* . . . (New York, 1887), p. 41.

47. *Statuta Synodi Brooklynensis Primæ* . . . (New York, 1880), p. 20. Cf. *B D E*, January 26, 1892. Loughlin wrote Corrigan, August 15, 1879, "I think your arrangement of salaries, perquisites, etc., admirable and accord with the views I always entertained. Did't meet with any opposition in the Synod?" (A A N Y, C-2). The Brooklyn Synod of 1887 made pastors' salaries \$1,000.

48. *Re* John Crimmin, cf. Crimmin to Cardinal McCloskey, November 27, 1880; to Archbishop Corrigan, February, May, 1892 (A A N Y, A-30); Richard Burtzell to Corrigan, January 29, 1881; Corrigan Note Book, March 29, 1883, April 1, 1885 (A A N Y, E); Cardinal Simeoni to Archbishop Williams of Boston, delegated to decide the dispute, July 29, 1885; Williams to Simeoni, September 18, 1885, March 27, 1886; Simeoni to Williams, July 29, 1885; June 26, August 14, 1886 (transcripts from Archives, Archdiocese of Boston, kindly furnished by Robert H. Lord); Lord, III, 97; Corrigan to McQuaid, September 25, 1886; December 29, 1887 (A D R); Zwierlein, II, 315, 363; Idem, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid* (Rochester, 1946), pp. 82, 89; *Bk Cit*, April 3, September 18, 1887; January 8, 1889; *C R*, June 22, 1872; April 3, September 18, 1887; August 16, 1890; *B D E*, November 29, 1881; *New York Herald or Sun*, June 30, 1892 [three items].

49. Patrick F. O'Hare suggested [?] it at the obsequies of Timothy O'Farrell of Visitation on February 17, 1876.

50. Each priest was assessed \$10. Administrator Michael May, V.G., ordered the first payment on January 27, 1892, and the society was reorganized on March 25, 1892. James H. Mitchell in *Priests' Relief Fund Book* (A D B).

51. *B D E*, November 30, 1868; *B C*, June 26, 1869; *C R*, July 19, 1873; August 12, 1882; September 8, 1883; September 8, 1888; August 23, 1889; September 12, 1891; *C Y*, October, 1884; Mitchell, *op.cit.*

52. Cf. Lord, III, 22.

53. October 15, 1868 (Archives, St. Mary's Seminary).

54. Joseph P. McGinley, just ordained from St. Mary's Seminary.

55. Press, June 26, 1887; *Bk Cit*, September 11, 1887; press, October, 1888; *New York News*, July 5, 1891; *B D E*, c. 1889; December 30, 1891;

March 11, 1892. Divided authority and loss of students and priests to them were the alleged reasons. Cf. Thomas Campbell, S.J., to T. F. Meehan, September 14, 1891, and comments of latter; Loughlin, Rome, to T. Reid, S.J., May 4, 1870 (A G U, 247.6; 233.7; 197.10). Loughlin allowed John Corbett to enter the society, April, 1888 (B T, July 11, 1942). Frederick W. Wayrich, C.S.S.R., defended the bishop in his panegyric (press, January 2, 1892). Cf. Meehan, III, 531; *Bk Cit*, September 11, 1887. "It was found impossible to retain it" (*The College of St. Francis Xavier, 1847-1897* [New York, 1898], p. 120).

56. *CD*, 1892. Not included were a few extern priests.

57. *BDE*, February 19, 1895.

58. The Brooklyn *Leader*, October 18, 1890, said there were 40,000—a likelier figure than that given in the *Herald des Glaubens* which estimated 28,175 (press, September 29, 1891).

59. *BDE*, February 19, 1895.

60. *BDE*, April 13, 1890.

61. *CD*, 1892.

62. Data concerning birthplaces and theological seminaries from which came the 184 diocesan priests, listed in the *CD*, 1892, are derived from Sharp's *Priests and Parishes*. . . .

63. The birth or descent of 120 Brooklyn priests in 1887 was: Irish, 96; German, 19; Italian, 2; French, Swiss, and Polish, 1 each (*Catholic American*, August 6, 1887).

64. Meehan, III, 529.

65. *CD*, 1856; *BCKCR*, p. 144. Born 1826, ordained, August 11, 1855; died, November 23, 1856, at a relative's house in Hagerstown, Md. (*FJ*, November 29, 1856, which calls him Cleary).

66. *CD*, 1859-1861. No *CD* published, 1862-1863. Brooklyn-born, 1828, of Peter Turner, he was ordained from the Mount, August 31, 1856; served at St. James' until his death, July 21, 1877 (*CR*, July 23, 30, 1877).

67. Born in Ireland, 1824; ordained, 1853, from Fordham; taught there; succeeded Bacon at Assumption, 1855; died there, May 10, 1890 (Vallette, in *USCH Mag*, III (1890), 295; *CR*, July 6, 1889; May 23, 1891).

68. Born, Astoria, October 10, 1853; ordained from Montreal, December 22, 1877; served at St. James' until 1892; at St. John's Chapel, 1892-1897; at St. Stephen's until death, 1898. The *CD* first mentions him as secretary in 1889 and as chancellor, 1892. Its twelfth theological scholarship—a \$5,000 gift—was presented in his memory to the Catholic University of America in October, 1898. Cf. *Memorial Book of Presentation* (Washington, 1898); Thomas Conaty, rector, to Archbishop Corrigan, November 19, 1898 (A A N Y, G-28).

69. Minute Book, I, Particular Council, St. Vincent de Paul Society, 1860, calls him "Very Rev.;" *CD*, 1864, calls him vicar general.

70. *CR*, June 12, 1880, on which trip Bernard J. McHugh of Holy Cross served as secretary (*CR*, July 24, 1880).

71. Born, Germany, 1826; ordained there, July 15, 1851; came to Holy Trinity, 1859, and remained until his death, February 11, 1895. Became vicar general, 1875 (*CR*, January 29, 1876); made domestic prelate, August, 1893 (*CY*, October 19, 1890; *CR*, August 12, September 16, 1893; February 10, 1894; February 23, 1895; *BDE*, January 28, 1894).

72. Baltimore in 1858 had the first Chancellor (J. T. Ellis, "Miscellany," *C H R*, XXXII [October, 1946] pp. 342 f).
73. He is first so named, *C D*, 1892.
74. *Statuta Synodi Brooklynensis Primæ* (New York, 1880); *C R*, September 6, 1879.
75. *Decreta Synodi Brooklynensis Secundæ . . . 1887* (New York, 1887).
76. *Ibid.*, p. 5. Propaganda's schema for the basis of the discussions of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore suggested Chapters of Canons which would have restricted episcopal authority. After long debates, diocesan consultors were determined upon. Rome also permitted the bishops to seek the "advice" rather than the "consent" of the consultors. Cf. Lord, III, 22, 89, 92; Ellis, I, 213, 253.
77. *Bk Cit*, January 8, 1889; May, 1890.

CHAPTER XV

1. A U N D.
2. Minute Book, Particular Council, St. Vincent de Paul Society, *passim*.
3. *C R*, September 4, 1886.
4. *Cath Exam*, April 10, 1888.
5. *Records, Catholic Benevolent Legion*, November 1, 1890; *B D E*, October 25, 1890; *C R*, October 25, 1890.
6. *C R*, August 30, 1873.
7. *F J*, March 5, 1854.
8. *F J*, August 12, 1854.
9. *F J*, February 13, 1864. Cf. Laurence Kehoe, *Complete Works of Reverend John Hughes* (New York, 1866), I, 26. "The Panegyric of the Bishop of Brooklyn was fully worthy of the occasion" (*F J*, *loc. cit.*). Dr. William McCloskey wrote from Rome, March 5, 1864, to Bishop MacFarland of Hartford, "I read his sermon with great pleasure. I wonder his physician allowed him to preach it" (A U N D).
10. *F J*, February 13, 1854.
11. *B C*, June 19, 1869.
12. Meehan declared his only extant public writings were a brief letter, October 5, 1869, proclaiming the general jubilee and announcing his departure for the Vatican Council, and another of June 23, 1861, declaring his loyalty to the Union (Meehan, III, 529). The date was April 23, 1861, as Meehan states elsewhere. Cf. *infra*, fn. 95. Vallette states, "He was the only bishop in the United States who never wrote a pastoral letter" (Vallette in Ross, I, 841).
13. Ryan, p. 203.
14. Shea, IV, 466.
15. Patrick J. Dignan, *A History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States (1784-1932)* (New York, 1935), p. 194. Cf. Frederick J. Zwierlein, "The Catholic Church in New York State," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1937), IX, 182.
16. April 20, 1855. For other local hostile reactions, cf. *Long Island Democrat*, January 16, March 27, 1855; *Star*, April 14, 1855. The letters were published as *Brooksiana or the Controversy between Senator Brooks and*

Archbishop Hughes, Growing Out of the Recently Enacted Church Property Bill (New York, 1870).

17. Text in *Decreta Synodi Brooklynensis Secundæ*, 1887, Appendix (45-48). Cf. Dignan, *op.cit.*, 207 ff.

18. The corporation aggregate, while not identical with the canonical concept of the parish as a *persona moralis non collegialis*, seems as close an approach as can be made under American law (Dignan, *op.cit.*, p. 268). In 1872 O'Connor declined the Democratic presidential nomination and later prosecuted Boss Tweed.

19. Justice Gilbert found no cause for complaint in the defendants, January 27, 1882 (*C D*, 1882, p. 48. Cf. *C R*, February 4, 1882; *A A N Y*, E, 1881). Instances of tax threats and suits may be read in *C R*, February 9, 1884; July 13, 1888.

20. Agnes King, *The Story of a Rare Parish* (Brooklyn, 1931), p. 16. From the beginning until January, 1891, trustees managed the parish (Edward J. McGolrick, May 24, 1938, to Eugene J. Crawford, cited to author).

21. Mother M. Charitas, O.P., a witness, cited in *A Q*.

22. *C D*, 1881.

23. *Metropolitan*, I (1853), 660.

24. Philip G. Auchampaugh, "Politics and Slavery, 1850-1860," *History of the State of New York* (1935), VII, 83; *Sag Harbor Corrector*, January 1, 1858; October 15, 1859.

25. Louis D. Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State* (New York, 1901), p. 84. In the New York State elections of 1854, one-third of the Know-Nothing vote came from the southeastern counties—New York, Kings, Queens, and Suffolk (Scisco, *op.cit.*, 126, 167, 190). Richard J. Purcell and John F. Poole, C.P., "Political Nativism in Brooklyn," *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, XXXII (New York, 1931), 48 ff. *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860* (New York, 1938), by the non-Catholic, Ray A. Billington, is the definitive work on the persecution of Catholics.

26. Peter Condon, "Constitutional Freedom of Religion and the Revivals of Religious Intolerance," *H R S*, V (1907), 434 ff.

27. George Hall, of Irish descent, Nativist and first mayor of the city of Brooklyn, 1834, was elected first mayor of the consolidated city of Brooklyn, 1855. He refused to allow street cars to run or stores to open on Sundays and even the Puritans tired of him (Ross, I, 443).

28. Cf. Peter Condon, *op.cit.*, passim, *H R S*, IV (1906), 145-216; V (1907), 426-462; Frederick J. Zwierlein, "Know Nothingism in Rochester, New York," *H R S*, XIV (1920), 20-69; Zwierlein, "The Catholic Contribution to Liberty in the United States," *H R S*, XV (1921), 119. In 1854 it perpetrated murder, theft, and sacrilege at St. Mary's Church, Newark, N. J. Father Balleis, O.S.B., later of Brooklyn, was among the priests forced to flee (*Metropolitan*, II [1854], 575).

29. Cited, *C R*, October 14, 1876; Augustus J. Thebaud, S.J., *Forty Years in the United States of America* (New York, 1904), p. 246.

30. Cf. Peter Condon, "Monsignor Bedini's Visit to the United States. The Official Correspondence," *H R S*, III (1903), 149-154; Peter Guilday, "John Gilmary Shea," *H R S*, XVII (1926), 44-45; Idem, "Gaetano Bedini," *H R S*, XXIII (1933), 87-170.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102; Shea, IV, 360.

32. Condon, *op.cit.*, *HR S*, V, 452.
33. *B D E*, May 13, 1853. *B D E* said Catholic opposition made a hero of him (June 11, 13, 1853).
34. Purcell-Poole, *op.cit.*, p. 37.
35. To Archbishop Purcell, January 12, 1854 (*A U N D*).
36. January 16, 17, 21, 23, 25, 26; February 6, 1854.
37. April 11, 1856; horrified its readers with the false report that Fremont was a Catholic, November 11, 1856; lamented Know-Nothing losses, April 18, 1857; rejoiced that Protestant Bibles were supplied every ship leaving Sag Harbor, January 30, 1858; and continuously attacked Hughes and the Irish (February 28, June 12, July 3, 1857; March 5, 1859).
38. *F J*, December 24, 1853.
39. Peter Guilday, "Gaetano Bedini," *HR S*, XXIII (1933), 141. Hughes had left for Cuba, December 27, on his physician's advice.
40. Shea, IV, 360.
41. Peter Guilday, *op.cit.*, p. 164; *passim*, pp. 87-170.
42. *B D E*, December 17, 19, 1853, regarded Parsons' arrest in New York for public disturbances as illegal and injudicious. For Orr, cf., Lord, II, 669-672; Zwierlein, I, 168; Idem, "Know Nothingism in Rochester, New York," *HR S*, XIV (1920), 38.
43. "A parcel of drunken fellows" interrupted the first affair; there were numerous brawls and some arrests at the second (Purcell-Poole, *op.cit.*, p. 42). The *Williamsburgh Daily Times*, May 22, June 12, defended this sort of free speech.
44. Purcell-Poole, *op.cit.*, p. 42; Stiles, II, 300, says the New Yorkers provoked the riot. The *Williamsburgh Daily Times*, cited in *F J*, June 7, 1854, said intoxicated men attacked the New Yorkers. Cf. *New York Herald*, May 29, 1854.
45. *F J*, June 7, 1854, citing the *Williamsburgh Daily Times*.
46. William H. Tole, *A Memorial of St. Paul's Church, Brooklyn, New York* (Newburgh, 1888), p. 7. Cf. Meehan, III, 582.
47. *Williamsburgh Daily Times*, June 5, 1854; *B D E*, June 4, 1854; *F J*, June 7, 1854.
48. 200 Know-Nothings were reported (*New York Herald*, June 5, 1854); 150 (Stiles, II, 301); 1,500-2,000 (*F J*, June 7, 1854).
49. Cf. *F J*, June 24, 1854.
50. *New York Daily Tribune*, June 12, 1854; *F J*, June 11, 1854.
51. *New York Daily Tribune*, June 12, 1854; *Williamsburgh Daily Times*, June 12, 1854.
52. Lord, II, 669-672.
53. Stiles, II, 302.
54. June 12, 1854.
55. Cited, *F J*, June 11, 1854. The *Rochester Daily Union* stated, July 31, 1854, "If . . . A have the right of free speech, so has B the right to enjoy his religious or political opinions without being molested or publicly black-guarded and abused" (cited, Zwierlein, "Know Nothingism in Rochester," *HR S*, XIV [1920], 40).
56. *F J*, June 14, 1854.
57. Stiles, II, 403-405.
- 57a. "Ned Buntline" was the pseudonym of Edward Z. C. Judson (1823-

1886), one of the principal organizers of the Native American party (Know-Nothings). His notorious, almost unbelievable, career of crime, violence, and swindling has been recently chronicled by Jay Monaghan, in *The Great Rascal* (New York, 1952).

58. *B D E*, November 10, 1854; *F J*, November 18, 1854, which adds that no men or arms were found inside. Others say the sexton and three men withstood the mob's first onslaught. *Souvenir, Dedication, McCaddin Memorial* (Brooklyn, 1898), p. 42; Vallette in *U S C H Mag*, III, 297; Shea, IV, 492; Denis R. O'Brien, "The Centenary of Rev. Sylvester Malone, Great Catholic and Great Citizen," *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, XIX-XX (New York, 1920-1921), 179 ff. Four boys were arrested (*F J*, November 18, 1854). DeCourcy-Shea, *The Catholic Church in the United States* (2nd ed., New York, 1879), p. 501, says the trustees and Catholics defending the Church were arrested.

59. *F J*, November 18, 1854; *Metropolitan*, II (1854), 708; *Bk Cit*, April, 1887; Shea, IV, 493.

60. *F J*, November 11, 18, 1854. Sheriff Lott revoked the licenses of the special deputies. Orangemen were involved (*F J*, November 25, 1854. Cf. DeCourcy-Shea, *loc. cit.*).

61. *Holy Trinity Diamond Jubilee Book* (Brooklyn, 1916), p. 10; *Holy Trinity Centennial* (Brooklyn, 1941), pp. 12, 13.

62. Rev. Mr. Furnile, chairman of a Know-Nothing meeting at the Athenaeum (*B D E*, February 23, 1855).

63. *F J*, April 12, 19, 1856.

64. The Episcopalian *Churchman* rebuked Guion (*F J*, May 10, 24, 1856).

65. Shea, III, 466; Lord, II, 199-200, 240; Zwierlein, I, 160; Idem, in *H R S*, XIV, 32; *U S C Mag*, IV (1846), 403, 405. A powerful writer of trash, he lectured on anything at the drop of a hat. Cf. Paxton Hibben, *Henry Ward Beecher, An American Portrait* (New York, 1927); Stiles, III, 787-789.

66. *Boston Pilot*, September 27, 1866.

67. *F J*, December 30, 1854.

68. *Long Island Democrat*, August 14, 1855.

69. Meehan, "Lincoln's Opinion of Catholics," *H R S*, XVI (1924), 89.

70. *Brownson's Review*, July, 1854, p. 347; October, 1854, p. 458; July, 1875, p. 412; cf. *Brownson's Works*, XVIII (Detroit, 1885), 289; Joseph R. Frese, S.J., "Brownson on Know Nothingism," *H R S*, XXVII (1937), 52-75.

71. Manuscript Notes, I, 13, 75 (July 25, August 5, 1854).

72. Peter Guilday, "Gaetano Bedini," *H R S*, XXIII (1933), 170.

73. The authors are respectively Louis Scisco, *op.cit.*, 247, 253, and Ray A. Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860* (New York, 1938).

74. *C R*, October 2, 1875; September 6, 1884.

75. Smith, II, 400, 407-408. For the crocodile caricature, cf. Michael Williams, *The Shadow of the Pope* (New York, 1932), p. 102.

76. The *C R*, declared, August 16, 1884, the *Eagle* "published one of its characteristic and habitual attacks on the priests of Brooklyn."

77. *B C*, June 19, 1869.

78. *C R*, January 15, 1881.

79. *C R*, April 27, June 1, 1872. Edith O'Gorman, ex-"nun," spoke at Washington Hall, Williamsburg, on the Romish Confessional, Indulgences, and Papal Supremacy (*B D E*, March 25, 1870).

80. *C R*, January 8, 1876. The New York Protestant *Christian Register* thought his departure for London would be welcomed in America. Talmadge advised Cardinal McCloskey to suppress the *Catholic Review* (*C R*, April 3, 1875).

81. Smith, II, 409-410. Brooklyn priests were frequently charged with telling their people how to vote (*C R*, December 9, 1876).

82. Zwierlein, II, 337.

83. Republican-appointed Brig. General James McLaer served as postmaster eight years (*C R*, September 6, 1884; May 19, 1888). William R. Grace was New York mayor, 1881-1882, 1885-1886 (Augustus J. Thebaud, S.J., *Forty Years in the United States of America* [New York, 1904], p. 301; *C N*, March 15, 1947).

84. For his antics, cf. Zwierlein, III, 49; Lord, III, 103-106, *passim*.

85. Michael Williams, *op.cit.*, pp. 95-111.

86. Leo F. Stock, "The United States at the Court of Pius IX," *C H R*, III (1924), 103-122; *Idem*, *United States Ministers to the Papal States . . .* (Washington, 1933). Cf. Joseph F. Thorning, S.J., "American Notes in Vatican Diplomacy," *H R S*, XX (1931), 7-27; Howard R. Marraro, "The Closing of the American Diplomatic Mission to the Vatican and Efforts to Revive It, 1868-1870," *C H R*, XXIII (January, 1948), 433, and *passim* for an excellent account of American and congressional reactions.

87. Shea, IV, 384. Portugal began the trade, 1444; abolished it, 1542. Great Britain monopolized it after 1713; abandoned it, 1807; emancipated West Indian slaves and recompensed their owners, 1833. Cuthbert E. Allen, O.S.B., "The Slavery Question in Catholic Newspapers, 1850-1865," *H R S*, XXVI (1936), 103.

88. The year it appeared, 305,000 copies sold; it circulated in 37 languages (Forrest Wilson, *Crusade in Crinoline, The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* [Philadelphia, 1941]). It was reviewed as "suited to the Methodist Sunday School and the drolleries of the theatre. . . Mrs. Stowe arrogating to herself the prerogative of supreme judge in politics and religion . . . employing all the powers at her command to rekindle the flame of civil strife. . . We turn with utter disgust from the immorality of her volume, from that false philanthropy, which springs from a false religion, and which seeks to gratify its selfishness even at the risk of the public peace and the Union" (*Metropolitan*, I [1853], 88). McMaster ridiculed the influential ignorance of the author (*F J*, February 19, 1859). Cf. Allen, *op.cit.*, 140.

89. M. H. Rice, *Review of American Catholic Opinion in the Slavery Controversy* (New York, 1944).

90. *F J*, November 24, 1855; *Baltimore Catholic Mirror*, February 20, 1864, cited by Allen, *op.cit.*, pp. 147, 153.

91. Thebaud, *op.cit.*, pp. 295-296; Shea, IV, 385.

92. Smith, I, 261-262.

93. May 7, 1861, A A N Y, A-10. Thus, too, Bernard Hughes of Kings County declared in the Assembly, January 30, 1863 (G. O'Hara, paper, L I C H Society meeting, September, 1893, A D B). The Pope deplored war but would not sanction slave trade (Leo F. Stock, "The United States at the Court of Pius IX," *C H R*, III [1923], 116-119).

94. Hughes had his pledge of patriotism read at the Union Square meeting, April 20, 1861 (*N Y T*, April 27, 1861) and raised the flag on the cathe-

dral. He declined an envoy's post to France but went there, at Lincoln's request, in 1861 to preserve her neutrality. The American ambassador snubbed him but his support meant much to Lincoln (Meehan, "Lincoln's Opinion of Catholics," *HRS*, XVI [1924], 87-93; "Notes and Comment," *CHR*, III [1923], 329).

95. Stiles, II, 442; Meehan, "Bishop Loughlin as a Citizen," *HRS*, II (1901), 192.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 193; William A. Olmsted, "An Incident of the Civil War," *HRS*, V (1907), 512; Sister M. Eulalia Moffatt, "Charles Constantine Pise, 1801-1866," *HRS*, XX (1931), 96; *NYT*, May 4, 1861; *CR*, August 28, 1886; Ross, I, 464; Stiles, II, 440, 444; G. J. O'Flynn, historian, 165th Regiment, New York, to author, June 12, 1940.

97. *FJ*, August 22, 1863.

98. *FJ*, August 1, 1863. Cf. *BDE*, November 8, 14, 1862; July 10, 1863. Four upstate priests were drafted, but their congregations paid the \$300 exemptions (Zwierlein, I, 276).

99. Frederick J. Zwierlein, "The Catholic Church in New York State," *History of the State of New York* (New York, 1937), IX, 187.

100. Meehan, "Archbishop Hughes and the Draft Riots," *HRS*, I (1899), 171-251. Alban P. Mann, "The Church and the New York Draft Riots of 1863," *ACHS Records*, LXII (March, 1951), 475. Cf. Hughes to Seward, July 19, 1863 (AANY, A-39). J. T. Headley, *The Great Riots of New York, 1712-1873* (New York, 1873). Malone spoke similarly at his church (*BDE*, July 20, 1863).

101. Stiles, II, 452.

102. Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Political and Social History of the United States* (New York, 1927), p. 184.

103. Condon, *op.cit.*, p. 459.

104. *CR*, May 19, 1894; *Bk Cit*, May 20, 1895.

105. Largely based on John W. Devoy's paper read at meetings, BCH Society, Nativity Institute, December 11, 1894, and May 19, 1895, cited, *Bk Cit*, May 20, 1895; Stiles, II, 439; III, 949 ff; Ross, I, 463 ff. W. H. Bennett, "Some Pre-Civil War Irish Militia Men of Brooklyn," *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, XXI (New York, 1922), 172-180; Doran Hurley, "Medal of Honor Men of Irish Birth or Ancestry in the United States Army and Navy," *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, XXXII (New York, 1941), 57-73.

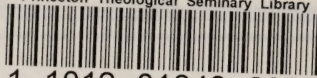
106. *BDE*, May 25, 1864.

107. *BT*, December 8, 1945.

108. "The 69th and the Civil War," *Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society*, X (1910-1911), 358.

109. *CN*, March 21, 1908. Among its regiments, Companies D, E, and G of the 155th were recruited from Brooklyn, Huntington, Hempstead, Islip, Oyster Bay, Southold, and Southampton. Companies E, F, G, H, and K of the 164th were recruited in Brooklyn, as was Company C which included men originally enlisted with Col. Michael Murphy's Kings County Volunteers. The 170th had many Brooklyn Catholics. Fathers Gillen, C.S.C., and Dillon, neither from Brooklyn, were chaplains (G. J. O'Flynn to author). Capt. W. H. Hogan, former commander of the Napper Tandy Light Artillery, organized a Brooklyn artillery company for Meagher's Irish Brigade (Stiles, II, 438-440).

110. *Bk Cit*, April 24, 1887.
111. Trustees Journal, East Hampton Town, 1845-1870; Sag Harbor *Corrector*, December 26, 1863. There were ten Irishmen in Greenport's Company H of the 127th, September, 1862 (*B D E*, May 19, 1895).
112. *B D E*, October 20, 1863.
113. W. M. Sweeney, *Biographical Memoir of Thomas William Sweeney, Brigadier General*, in American-Irish-Historical Society Collections, II, 194.
114. Holy Cross Cemetery Records. A Washington monument recalls over 600 sisters whose nursing services were praised by Lincoln (Ellen R. Jolly, *Nuns of the Battlefield* [Providence, 1930], p. 24). For Stone, cf. Lord, III, 409; John K. Sharp, "The Brooklyn Catholic Historical Society and Its Founder, Marc F. Vallette," *H R S*, XXXVIII (1950), 100, fn. 8. Irish-born Sister M. de Chantal Keating, C.S.J., of Brooklyn received permission to answer the request of the Bishop of Wheeling to come and nurse the wounded. Over her grave in Mount St. Michael's, Flushing, the War Department's tombstone reads: "Companion to Nurses" (*B T*, October 31, 1953).
115. Shea, IV, 495. Careful search of the Shea Papers in the A G U and of the *F J*, April 15, 1865-January 31, 1866, failed to verify this statement.
116. *C R*, July 8, 1876.
117. *C R*, July 16, October 1, 1881.
118. *C R*, April 20, May 4, 11, 1889.



1 1012 01648 8985

THE DIOCESE OF BROOKLYN

